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MOTHERHOOD
AND ITS ENEMIES

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By

CHARLOTTE HALDANE

author of "MAN'S WORLD"

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FIRST EDITION

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOSEPH FRANKEN

MY FATHER

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PART I

THE POINT OF VIEW

The error of those who reason by precedents drawn from antiquity, respecting the rights of man, is that they do not go far enough into antiquity.

Thomas Paine.

PART I

THE POINT OF VIEW

The error of those who reason by precedents drawn from antiquity, respecting the rights of man, is that they do not go far enough into antiquity.

THOMAS PAINE.

Any contribution to the discussion of sex problems must, I hold, keep firmly within certain specified limits. It must rest, not only on thought, but on thought shaped to fit the subject-matter in a very definite manner. If we have received no better education than a religious one, we still have been taught that emotion is an unreliable guide, both to action and to opinion. Unscientific thought is no more than emotion rationalized and expressed by means of a more or less imperfect vocabulary. Scientific thought, on the contrary, endeavours (not always with complete success) to avoid emotional taint, and to concentrate attention into dykes built above the emotional swamp on which the mind must necessarily erect its structures.

Before trying to trace the development of sexual relationships, a subject always in danger of being flooded by the emotional stream, we have to consider the manner in which thought on this, as on other

matters of strong interest, has come to approach its problem.

The view is widely held that the innate possibilities of the mind have altered very little or not at all since later paleolithic days. But we know that since those days humanity has developed many civilizations, some higher, some lower, but all tending to an increasingly complex structure of activities. Intelligence and educability appear to be directly inherited. Behaviour, as far as it is influenced by emotion, temperament, and social attitudes, is largely due to environment. Experience in these matters cannot be inherited, but it can be acquired by one generation from another through communication.

These views are not merely my own but those of scientific investigators, who have produced satisfactory evidence in support of them. But to say that civilization is due to the development of tradition, that intelligence is transmitted germinally, and codes of behaviour are communicated from teacher to pupil, is not enough. In every society individual intelligence varies: there are therefore in all groups individuals more amenable to teaching than the average, and among these are found the altogether exceptional few who contribute, after either accepting or rejecting what has been taught them, something new—an original idea. Now the speed with which an idea, evolved by an exceptional individual, will be accepted by the mass, depends on various factors. If, on the whole, the few ideas on which modern society rests, have in the main been due to isolated individuals, their acceptance has depended on the activities of

disciples—men lacking the power of conceiving such ideas themselves, but nevertheless able to assimilate them more quickly than their contemporaries, to foresee their possible developments, to turn them to some account, and particularly to arouse the majority of others to their significance. Among this group there tends to be a majority of those whom Trotter[1]* describes as 'stable' types, 'the great class of normal, sensible, reliable middle age, with its definite views, its resiliency to the depressing influence of facts, and its gift for forming the backbone of the State'; the class, in fact, without which institutions could not exist.

Once an idea has in this way become the basis of an institution, we are no longer directly in contact with it, but with its institutionalized form. In the Church we are no longer in direct contact with the religious idea of Jesus. Institutions, however, such as churches, kingship, and others, have a life (in a metaphorical sense) of their own. They, like the men on whose united consent they rest, are subject to a rhythm of birth, growth, maturity, decline, death. While, however, an institutionalized idea is undergoing this process, other ideas will have arisen which are about to undergo a similar cycle. As the thinking few among human beings tend to be of a mentally unstable type (at least during their creative period) it follows that their ideas, in 'coming up against' the earlier, institutionalized, idea, will conflict with it. An institution will become more and more stable as

*The small figures throughout the text refer to list at the end of each chapter.

it incorporates greater numbers of average men, and rather than fall into line with 'advanced' or even contemporary thought, will offer opposition to it.

The human mind does not alter very rapidly. The problems which confront it may remain in essence the same, but they vary, on a historical scale, with considerable speed. The superstition and credulity, artlessness and cunning, respect for and disobedience to law, of the savage, remain with us still; but levels of human activity and codes of human conduct have changed as the leading minority of human beings has changed, dragging after it the enormous majority of which, from century to century, the tail consists. Moral and religious ideas, invented by the vanguard and imposed by their successful disciples on the rest of humanity, can never be anything but provisional and subject to correction during longer or shorter periods. The institutions founded on them, however, eventually reach their maturity; they become so organized that they are incapable of correction or amendment. Their decay may be prolonged for centuries, during which time their administrators will endeavour to impose on the mass of the people, up to the last possible moment, views or behaviour completely inadequate to the people's situation. 'There is always a forgotten thing'; there are many, and, owing to the strong position of the forces of stability, this matter of the 'life cycle' of institutions is perhaps one of the chief of them.

The investigation of the relationship of the sexes is prefaced by these remarks for several reasons. I

have hoped, by making them, to make my own standpoint clear. In its social aspect it is not a simple problem. It has been studied by many experts, but these can be divided mainly into two groups: those who confine themselves strictly to an examination of its biological questions, and those who, like the great Westermarck,[2] while telling us all about the history of human marriage in primitive or savage societies, end the story just when it begins to approach our own territory and to intertwine with our own civilization. I make no criticism of such scientific work, without which one could not begin, as it were, at the end, save to say that it leaves a blank just where, in my opinion, the fullest examination is required. It is certain that we could never understand our present without this essential knowledge of the past, or knowledge of the customs of races still living, anthropologically speaking, in the past.

The relationship of the sexes has been deeply influenced by institutions, and particularly by religious ones. It has—except in the case of the Jews—been little influenced by the great ideas of individuals. Marriage, as it is generally practised in Europe to-day, owes its position, not to the words of Jesus, even supposing the Gospels to report those words accurately, but to the Institution known as the Christian Church. Moreover, women being mainly the very marrow of that backbone referred to by Trotter in the passage I have quoted, have, with very few exceptions, never yet revealed sufficient 'instability' or individuality to investigate these problems themselves save in a ridiculously superficial and journalistic

manner which, for all purposes of serious discussion, may be ignored.

I do not consider myself qualified to rank with the writers on whom I depend for my scientific facts and for some of my assumptions. Nevertheless I do not admit this to be a sufficient reason for shirking an examination of a particular part of the problem of sex—the position of motherhood in the modern world —which very few men and, as far as I know, no women, have hitherto tried to state.

The limits I propose to place to my thinking in this matter will confine me, whenever possible, to such evidence as can pass a scientific test; and among this evidence none is more important than that to be found in the latest work of geneticists, physiologists, biochemists, and psychologists. The chief objection to it is its extreme scarcity. But still it does exist, and in consequence, each point based on facts provided by these sciences can only be controverted by evidence of a scientific type. By taking as far as I can only such facts into account, I shall be saved the irritation of having to meet and waive away the countless unscientific and mostly absurd theories with regard to women. You might just as well ask, 'Are thin men superior to fat women?' as pose the question whether men are 'better' than women—questions of such a kind I propose to leave to the popular Press.

Before examining such a matter as the relationship of the sexes it would be intensely interesting, as well as helpful, if one could discover how far sex influences general characteristics, chiefly those of the mind. But unfortunately we are immediately con-

fronted with ignorance. We do know a little, however. We know that in the reproduction of most animals the sperm or male gamete is motile, and that the egg or female is sessile, depending for fertility on the activity of the sperm which seeks it out, penetrates, and fertilizes it. It is well established that women have a lower basal metabolism per square foot of skin than men—that a woman at rest expends a slightly smaller amount of energy than a man in the maintenance of the activity of the essential tissues. Though the evidence regarding an inborn difference in the potentialities for various activities in men and women is admittedly very slight, we can nevertheless assert that for thousands of years custom has so divided their spheres that women have behaved, in regard to men, much as the egg does in relation to the sperm. They have tended, ever since society became more or less fixed, to remain at home, carrying out duties which did not require much initiative, forethought, or strenuous physical activity. The stories of Ulysses and Penelope are a crude but striking illustration. It may be that the at first simple roaming and roving of the male developed the restlessness of his mind; that gradually, if he stayed at home, he still continued to cultivate an exploring, wandering, discovering type of mentality. All over the world, the majority of women lived, and do live, uneventful secluded lives, and, save in exclusively personal matters, their incentive to thought or discovery, novel or original behaviour, has always been negligible. I believe that some such explanation is the source of women's alleged 'inferiority' to men. In ancient Egypt the egg was

the determinant in hieroglyphics for all females. No one can deny a certain 'egginess' in the feminine make-up.

It is not as much a matter of physical health and strength as is generally supposed. Many of the world's greatest men have had wretched health all their lives; as a man of action to whom this applies one may cite Nelson, and in the case of great intellectual genius one can quote Darwin, and Huia Onslow, the biochemist, who never began serious scientific research until a dive had completely paralysed his lower limbs and lamed his upper ones, and who did valuable experiments while lying flat on his back.

Just as men can overcome the most tremendous physical handicaps, so there is no reason to suppose that in spite of tradition women cannot in certain cases act and think as capably as men. On the whole, however, they have not yet contributed on an important scale to discovery, research, or creative thought.

In this study of the position and problems of motherhood, I propose to consider my subject from two points of view: the historical and the psychological. With the first I must necessarily deal briefly. The evidence I need is to be found in books whose value is universally acknowledged, such as Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage,' Carr-Saunders' 'Population Problem,' and others which will be mentioned in the bibliography. Before proceeding to the psychological point of view I shall attempt to investigate the recent conclusions of geneticists and physiologists, on whose work it must be based. This is all the more important as these sciences are at

present giving us, and will give us in the future, invaluable information which must be taken into account before any wide generalizations are at all possible. The time when a study of this kind could either ignore or distort scientific facts is past; but because so many writers on the sex problem—mostly propagandists for the alleged superiority or inferiority of women to men—have chosen to do so, there is practically no authoritative non-scientific literature on the subject. Considering how closely it is intertwined with almost all other aspects of civilization, it seems to merit more accurate and generous treatment.

Occasionally the historical and biological arguments overlap. This is almost inevitable. I have tried, as far as possible, to avoid redundancy, but in some cases history, while it is being recalled, must immediately be interpreted in the light of psychology, if the proofs to be drawn from it are to be of any value at all.

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Carr-Saunders: 'The Population Problem.'

Chapter I

MOTHERS IN ISRAEL

For her price is far above rubies.

Provs. xxxi. 10.

SUMMARY

1. Motherhood in paleolithic times.
2. Lack of evidence.
3. Primitive peoples.
4. The population problem; abortion, infanticide, and regulation of intercourse.
5. The fallacy of matriarchy.
6. The Jewish mother and traditional ideas.
7. Abortion, infanticide, and regulation in the Old Testament.
8. Mothers and sexual intercourse.
9. Concubines.
10. The concept of paternity.
11. Realization of the importance of the parental attitude.
12. Men and women as parents; favourization of intelligent individuals.
13. Precept and practice.

CHAPTER I

MOTHERS IN ISRAEL

For her price is far above rubies.

PROVS. XXXI. 10.

In the absence of a definite breeding season, problems with which other animals, whether individually or collectively, need not deal, have always confronted mankind. Instincts, and particularly sexual instincts, have played as great a part in sociology as in physiology. In the most primitive communities steps have always been taken to 'regularize' them, and as civilizations become more complicated, the leaders tended to formulate or to apply laws to these as to other human activities.

Although motherhood in prehistoric times was essentially the same as motherhood to-day, I do not propose to concern myself with those remote ages. Life appears to us to have been simpler then; if it was not, its complications have now no value for us. In any case, the evidence is far too scanty to enable me to draw on it with profit. Anthropologists and ethnologists have in recent years delved deeply into the customs of primitive or retrograde peoples. While this study has been of great scientific value and has yielded some extremely entertaining literature, it also

is concerned with details generally too remote for our purposes. This statement must in certain respects be qualified. It is impossible, for instance, to disregard such evidence in relation to the population problem and its modern popular offshoot, so-called 'birth control.' The means adopted everywhere, including Europe before it was christianized, to regulate numbers according to the available food supply, were chiefly abortion, infanticide, and abstention from sexual intercourse. These factors affect our investigation closely and will be repeatedly examined in relation to peoples whose rules and procedure with regard to motherhood I propose to study. I have purposely confined myself to those of them, such as the Jews and the ancient Greeks, who have profoundly influenced European thought down to our own times, and whose precepts still continue to do so. Before I attempt to examine the position of the Jewish mother, however, I want to refer to one alleged institution, always advanced in controversy by one-sided feminists, that of so-called matriarchy.

In one or more of the 'golden' ages of mankind, they say, the mother was the supreme member of the family. Father-right was subservient to mother-right; descent was through the maternal family and inheritance often followed the same lives. At one time these claims were more or less backed by anthropological opinion. Nowadays, however, that opinion inclines to the view that the so-called mother-right has been greatly exaggerated, and particularly that where matrilineal descent was the rule, it was not the mother herself who possessed the powers and privileges it was

believed to confer, but her family and particularly, her male relations, brothers, uncles, etc.[1] This view is borne out by certain recommendations of the rabbinical 'eugenists,'[2] who advised the future founder of a family to pay careful attention, before making his choice, to the characters and intellectual qualities of his bride-elect's brothers, as the children would resemble them more than their father or his relations.

The study of the Jewish mothers' position is of greater interest for the modern investigator than that of any other early civilized women. For although certain regulations and modes of behaviour, such as polygamy, have lapsed as time went on and the Jews were forced more or less to adapt themselves to the customs of the European nations among whom they lived, others, including most of the commands of Moses, have survived intact, and still survive in thousands of Jewish families to-day. The Jewish woman thus presents a subject for a study, not only of the customs prevalent among an early nomadic people, but of the continuity of a certain tradition. The sociological importance of traditional ideas seems to me to depend very largely on their survival under vastly altering conditions, or on the survival of those who believe in them.

The Jews, like their nomadic contemporaries, in early times endeavoured to limit the numbers of their community.

In Genesis[3] there is no reference to abortion, nor is there direct proof of infanticide. However, the story of Abraham's preparations to sacrifice Isaac at the command of the Lord, reveals a docility which

would be much more remarkable (in view of the sentimental attachment of the father to this only legitimate child) if we supposed that the practice of killing or sacrificing children for religious or other reasons had been totally unknown to Abraham.

Infanticide was practised by the peoples with whom the Jews were in contact during the Exodus, and particularly by the worshippers of Moloch. Moses kept a vigilant eye on these customs. 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Again thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Moloch, he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones. And I will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Moloch, to defile my sanctuary and to profane my holy name.'

Evidence tending to show that unwanted women and children were exposed or abandoned, is to be found in the story of Hagar and Ishmael. When Hagar 'saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. And Sarai said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes. But Abram said unto Sarai, Behold thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face.' The Angel of the Lord made Hagar return to her place, but later, when Sarai had borne Isaac and wanted to make sure that his half-brother would not share in his inheritance, 'she said

unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son'; and although 'the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight' the Lord was firmly on the side of his legitimate spouse. Hagar and Ishmael went, with, one gathers, a mere piece of bread and a bottle of water as Abraham's parting gifts.

Regulation of intercourse between married pairs is not referred to in Genesis. Adultery, rape, and sodomy were the sexual sins of the period. Polygamy, or rather, polygyny, and concubinage were customary. Leah and Rachel both gave their maids to Jacob, maids and their sons remaining in the households of their respective mistresses.

Not until the time of Moses do we find the Jewish tradition references forbidding incest; laws regulating intercourse to certain persons, and to stated periods of the month only, and enforcing abstention after child-birth. This abstention was to last, in the case of a son, forty-one days—for a daughter the interval was eighty days.

The ceremonial of purification by means of sacrifice is laid down in the Pentateuch. Vestiges of this ritual remain in the Christian churching of women.

The laws of Moses regulating sexual intercourse have always been and still are obeyed by practising Jews. Two facts may be noted in connection with this. At a much later date, when Europe had been christianized, the Jews were the only people on that continent who observed any period whatever of sexual abstention. A recent investigation[4] has shown that Jewish infant mortality rates are to-day the lowest in Europe; this is attributed firstly to the lower birth-

rate among Jews, and secondly, to the greater care taken of their babies by Jewish mothers than by Gentile mothers on a similar social and economic level.

Incest was practised in early times and was condoned, apparently, when the father or father-in-law had not done his duty by the daughter or daughter-in-law. It was his business to provide them with husbands. Lot's daughters, when their father took them to dwell alone in a cave, interpreted the law as they understood it and attained their ends. Tamar was the wife of the eldest son of Judah. After his death without issue, Onan, the second son, was ordered by his father to marry her; Onan refused to provide children who technically would be his dead brother's. Judah then promised to give his third son, Shelah, to Tamar; but in due course 'she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.' Tamar, determined not to be cheated, disguised herself as a harlot, seduced her father-in-law, and conceived by him. Judah, when the matter was investigated, and she produced his gifts as evidence, 'acknowledged them, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; because that I gave her not to Shelah my son. And he knew her again no more.'

In due course twins were born to Tamar, and though it is not definitely stated, Judah appears to have brought them up in the usual manner.

Moses, however, forbade incest as well as adultery and sodomy.

Concubines were accepted members of Jewish households in Old Testament times, and prostitution was tolerated though not encouraged. Adultery,

however, right up to the time of Jesus, was considered a sin punishable by death. There is little condemnation of King Solomon on account of the seven hundred wives and the three hundred concubines, though such a ménage may not have been quite nice, even for the wisest king of his day. But there was a great popular outcry over the *affaire* Bathsheba. 'And the Lord sent Nathan unto David. . . .' 'Wherefore hast thou despised the commandment of the Lord, to do evil in his sight? thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife. . . .' 'Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thine house.' Here, of course, there was also an indictment of murder.

The episode of Jesus and the woman taken in adultery makes curious reading for the members of his Church who are—in practice at any rate—closer followers of the Fathers than of the Founder of Christianity. His remarks to the people of the glass houses who brought her to him, are more often quoted than the words he spoke to her after they had left. 'Woman,' he said to her, 'where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more.'

The passage is quoted here to recall that, although at all times the dangers of promiscuity were recognized and feared, and consequently punished, they were not mercilessly condemned by those who both understood something of human behaviour, and who had the courage of their opinions. Throughout the whole of antiquity, as we shall see, the usefulness in certain

circumstances, of the prostitute, was tacitly or openly acknowledged; either by tolerance of her presence or even by incorporating her in the ritual of worship of certain deities.

The Jews, however, were ahead of their contemporaries in these two matters: they neither worshipped a human deity, male or female in form—though their Gentile successors presented God the Father as an old man with a white beard—nor did they condone each other's tendencies to whoredom (to use the Biblical expression). This was no doubt partly due to the early appearance in Judaic thought of the concept of paternity. The love of the Jewish father for the son was the greatest love he could know. It was not Sarah, but Isaac, that Abraham was called on to sacrifice to the Lord in order to prove his complete subjugation; and the tellers of the tale knew that their comrades would probably have disowned even so jealous a god as Jahweh, had he insisted on the sacrifice. Similarly the most awful plague which the Egyptians could be made to suffer was the destruction of their first-born, while those of Israel were saved. The strong Messianic tradition among the Jews was no doubt partly responsible for the illimitable price the Jews of both sexes set on their children. And in the Jewish family we see the actual counterpart of the 'Holy Family'; we are faced with the idea that neither mother nor father dare assert their own interests when these threaten to conflict with those of the children.

Here, of course, we find a sign of a very advanced stage of civilization. For the Jews translated

behaviour of biological value (the care of offspring we see in birds or mammals) into a moral law. The parental idea, the realization of its profound responsibilities, of its rational and emotional rewards, this concept influenced all their views on sexual behaviour. The sin of Onan was his refusal to perpetuate his house, according to the law which commanded the brother of a dead man to espouse the widow. The individual was sacred in so far as he bore within him the seeds of posterity. The moment he began to consider other duties paramount, whether the duty to himself or to his Heavenly Father, he was condemned. To put God and self before father and mother, as Jesus preached, was not only irreligious, but racial blasphemy in the eyes and ears of his compatriots. Between the Christian and the Jewish moral codes no gulf is greater than that opened up by: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee; that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee' (Deut. v. 16), and 'If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple' (Luke xiv. 26). The old Law gives sound biological advice; the new advocates racial suicide on earth, whatever may be the individual's reward in heaven.

All those critics who have attacked the Jewish attitude towards women have missed the point, that not only paternal, but maternal devotion, was considered a paramount duty. The tremendous im-

portance attached to the fulfilling of maternal responsibilities clearly shows that the Jews realized how difficult and complicated they might be, and to conclude therefrom that a woman would have her hands and mind full in carrying them out. The only valid excuse a young man might give in refusing to marry was study of the law,[5] and even this could only postpone but not abolish the necessity for marriage. The Jews encouraged early marriage for both sexes, because they knew that it was a preliminary to the awakening of the parental attitude. The best of men could not evade its responsibilities; the worst might be redeemed by them; the earlier they were undertaken, the lower were the chances that the individual would place self before community. At marriage, according to the rabbis, all sins might be forgiven; the scroll of the Law itself might be sold in order to obtain a marriage portion.

'When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business: but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken.'

It is no wonder that in such a community celibacy was abhorred; the Rabbi Eleazar even went so far as to suggest castration as a punishment for the wilful celibate!

This attitude caused some classical and many unofficial quarrels between spouses. The Jewish woman was pre-eminently concerned with maternal rather than wifely duties.

Not merely in their infancy, but often when they are grown up the children of Israel find in their

mother the bravest and most loyal protector. To the modern mind—even the Jewish mind—the tales of Genesis are unpalatable. Abraham and Jacob were no gentlemen, neither was the All-Highest. Abraham was only mildly reproved for telling profitable lies on two occasions, when he sent Sarah, as his alleged sister, to Pharaoh of Egypt and Abimelech, king of Gerar. After this one is not surprised at the conduct of Rebekah, who swindled the dying Isaac into blessing her favourite son Jacob. (Fortunately, Jacob was also Jahweh's favourite.)

But however we may judge Rebekah's conduct, the mothers of Jewry have on thousands of occasions followed her example, not perhaps so drastically, but never questioning their right to act as a buffer between the beloved son and the wrath of 'papa.' With lies and by subterfuges they have also shielded these sons from the 'Goy' policeman and recruiting-officer. They were always willing to die for them, and in many a pogrom did so. And they also administered their own rough justice, with the hand and with the tongue, when the favourite refused to comply with their orders. It is still the custom among the majority of Jews for the grown-up children to remain at home until their marriage, and this establishes for the mother a power over them which, to do her justice, she abuses but seldom. Her ascendancy over her daughters is even greater, for the Jewish father can never quite conceal his contempt on religious grounds for mere female children, and leaves them almost invariably entirely to the mother's care and influence.

The Jews, like the Chinese, favoured the marriage

and production of children of intelligent individuals, thus practising sexual selection. Though there is plenty of evidence of love-matches, the matter was too solemn a one to be left to chance. The actual choice of a prospective son or daughter-in-law was made by parents, a marriage broker or 'schadchan' being employed in the past as at present. But the rabbis or wise men had certain definite theories, as we have seen. A dark man should not choose a dark woman; a tall youth should seek a short maiden; beauty was of very great importance in a wife, but intelligence, as revealed in her father or brother and as transmissible to her children, was even more so. One could not give too much, even unto selling all one's possessions, in order to capture the daughter of a learned man. The rabbis may here perhaps be suspected of a certain personal prepossession.

The wife was the husband's property and was economically entirely dependent on him. In this connection it is important to note that precept allowed a great deal of freedom in practice. No wives, not even those in Latin countries, where women so often manage all the family's financial affairs, have ever had a wider discretion than Jewish women who possessed greater ability than their husbands. As conditions grew more and more modernized, the women became not only responsible for the administration of the family income, but took part in earning it. In certain industries, such as those concerned with clothing, in which the Jews have been particularly successful, the women's share has been almost as great as the men's.

In ritual also, the women, though having no active part in public worship, were entirely responsible for carrying out the complicated ordinances with regard to food and household utensils, which gave to every meal a sacramental flavour, particularly after the Jews were scattered among hostile nations whose persecution threw a religious glamour even over ordinary marketing and household management.

The reason why women were to remain veiled or invisible in the synagogue was in itself a tribute to them; it was feared that the sight of their beauty might detract the male mind from the worship of God!

The explicit laws of the Pentateuch regulating, not only the relationships between members of the family, but these governing the dealings between master and servant, show the application of the parental code even to transactions with slaves or servants.

'And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof: But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.'

The servant allowed to participate in religious rites thus becomes a member of the family; females, such as the slaves of Leah and Rachel, could be mated with their master in order to increase the number of his offspring. But in Exodus xxi. the economic and social relationships between masters and slaves are clearly set out and must be obeyed.

The Jews are perhaps the perfect example of the power for reproduction and survival of a community

under hostile as well as favourable conditions, when mothers, like other members of it, are not encouraged to regard themselves primarily as independent individuals. In practice the Jewish home life has been notoriously successful. Certain rights are accorded to the unhappily married woman; divorce is permitted in definite cases, though looked on as a disgrace to both partners and apparently more rarely resorted to than among most other modern groups. Both men and women live longer, according to Jewish statistics, than their non-Jewish fellows.[6] Though in theory woman is deemed man's inferior, in practice her position has rarely been a positively unhappy one.

A study of women living under a different legal and religious system will perhaps tell us more fully whether the Jewish mother has in past as well as present times been more fully blessed than her contemporaries.

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Chapter 2

MOTHERS AND COMPANIONS

We have companions for the sake of pleasure, and wives to bear us lawful offspring and to be the faithful guardians of our houses.

Demosthenes.

SUMMARY

1. Evidence from the classics.
2. Seclusion of women.
3. Disparity of age between husband and wife.
4. Anglo-Saxon and Latin attitude to marriage of convenience.
5. Feminine activities—theory and practice.
6. Difference in Anglo-Saxon and Latin interpretation of facts.
7. Religious influences.
8. Companions.
9. Masculine ideals.
10. Roman development of Greek system.

CHAPTER II

MOTHERS AND COMPANIONS

We have companions for the sake of pleasure, and wives to bear us lawful offspring and to be the faithful guardians of our houses.

DEMOSTHENES.

The ancient Greeks have left us evidence of two kinds regarding the part played in their history by women, and the lives led by them. In the works of Plato and Aristotle and in the 'Oeconomicus' of Xenophon we are given the theories of the philosophers regarding marriage, education, and the rôles to be filled by women, children, and slaves in the ideal State; Xenophon gives us a picture, one of the most charming in all literature, of Socrates' (or his own) ideal wife; while Demosthenes and Lysias, advocates and men of law, have permitted us glimpses of the real lives lived by a few women of their time and of the problems which confronted spouses and mothers. To this evidence I propose to add a little from the plays of Herondas, a late and minor poet. They are valuable because in one or two little scenes we see feminine life depicted, not in caricature, as Aristophanes showed it in 'Lysistrata,' but in straightforward and occasionally very low comedy which, differing in this respect markedly from farce, seems to present a fairly true picture.

The women of ancient Greece resembled those of Old Jewry and of many other early peoples in their secluded and narrow lives. As I propose to show, these lives were not nearly so dreary as some modern writers have tried to suggest. They were no more restricted than the existence led by women to-day in Mahommedan countries, or even in countries such as Spain, where Roman Catholicism still wields great power over women.

The chief cause of the striking disparity between the lives of wives and husbands in ancient Greece was the age at marriage. Aristotle[1] decided that women should be married at the age of eighteen and men at about thirty-seven; 'they will thus be at the height of their physical vigour at the time of marriage and will come simultaneously and at the right season to the period of life when they cease to beget children.' As a matter of fact, girls were often married off at a very much earlier age, soon after puberty, when they were mentally still children. The preparations for marriage included the giving-up of dolls (still done ceremonially in Japan), a pathetic little ceremony, showing how truly child-like the bride was. The husband was frequently twenty or thirty years older than his wife; a mature man of the world in every way, who had not only played his part as soldier and citizen, but had tasted all the pleasures of intellect and senses his rich time could offer him. He did not come to marriage with the eager uncontrolled appetite of a youth, but after reflection, and for a three-fold purpose: to secure, in succession to his mother, a ministrant to the ancestral gods; to beget children who would in their turn

honour his memory; and to find a housekeeper in the strict sense, a mistress to care for his goods and to control his slaves.

The Greek marriage of convenience seems distasteful to modern Anglo-Saxons, who can never admit the possible success of any marriage save that founded on a love-match. But the Latin mind, even of to-day, sees nothing unpleasant in such a scheme, and no reason why a dowry and stated wifely duties should necessarily preclude married happiness.

In Xenophon's 'Oeconomicus'[2] Socrates is made to relate his encounter with Iscomachus, an unfortunately mythical personage who was supposed to be the typical Greek gentleman. He is a man of property and worldly wisdom and a marked success in life. Socrates begs him to relate how he came to be called a gentleman. Iscomachus does not hesitate to comply with the wily philosopher's flattering request. He straightway gives him a description of his habits, beginning with the story of how he made his little wife into a model housekeeper.

'Why, what knowledge could she have had, Socrates, when I took her for my wife? She was not yet fifteen years old when she came to me, and up to that time she had lived in leading-strings, seeing, hearing, and saying as little as possible.'

After jointly offering sacrifices and prayers Mr. and Mrs. Iscomachus settled down to the discussion of wifely duties. Her whole duty, as her mother had taught it her, was to be discreet. So her husband gave her detailed lessons in household management; in the control of their many slaves, advising her par-

ticularly to treat them well if they were ill or in trouble; in ranging, storing, and looking after their goods; food; household utensils; clothes. He compared her to the queen bee.

'She stays in the hive and does not suffer the bees to be idle; but those whose duty it is to work outside she sends forth to their work; and whatever each of them brings in she knows and receives it, and keeps it till it is wanted. And when the time is come to use it she portions out the just share to each. She likewise presides over the weaving of the combs in the hive, that they may be well and quickly woven, and cares for the brood of little ones, that it be duly reared up. . . .'

'Then shall I too have to do these things?' said my wife. 'Indeed you will,' said I.

This ideal husband not only taught his wife her duties, but in the most tactful manner possible corrected her errors. One day, doubtless to please him, she had made up her face—'she had rubbed in white lead in order to look even whiter than she is, and alkanet juice to heighten the rosy colour of her cheeks; and she was wearing boots with thick soles in order to increase her height!' He was not angry with her but told her that 'tricks like these may serve to gull outsiders, but people who live together are bound to be found out, if they try to deceive one another. For they are found out while they are dressing in the morning; they perspire and are lost; a tear convicts them; the bath reveals them as they are!'

Socrates related this conversation to his pupil Critobulus, after the following confession:

'Socrates. Is there any one to whom you commit more affairs of importance than you commit to your wife?

Critobulus. There is not.

Socrates. Is there any one with whom you talk less?

Critobulus. There are few or none, I confess.

Socrates. And you married her when she was a mere child and had seen and heard almost nothing?

Critobulus. Certainly.

Socrates. Then it would be far more surprising if she understood what she should say or do than if she made mistakes.'

The duties of mothers as defined by Aristotle are nearly all exactly as they would be recommended by a modern physician or psychologist. 'The women should take care of their bodily health during pregnancy, not leading a life of indolence, nor yet adopting a scanty diet. This care of their bodies may be easily secured by the legislator, if he ordains that they should daily take a certain walk to render due service to the gods whose function it is to preside over childbirth. But their minds, unlike their bodies, should at such a time be comparatively indolent and free from anxiety, as we see that children are affected by the state of the mother during pregnancy.'

Babies are to be hardened to variations in temperature; to be given plenty of milk; they should be allowed to cry and kick and not be confined in swaddling clothes; older children should not be left too much in the company of slaves, nor exposed to bad language or example, nor should they be allowed to be present

at the theatre. Modern theories of education completely bear out Aristotle's views as to the importance of early impressions.

Greek wives and mothers shared with the women of medieval Europe the advantages and drawbacks of homes into which industry had not yet introduced ready-made foods, clothing, and implements. They had a great deal to do, and while the more intelligent of them were probably almost as happy as the wife of Iscomachus, others were no doubt frequently bored. Nevertheless we must realize the enormous advantage to these women of the institution of slavery.

The little plays of Herondas[3] deal with the intimate domestic life of third-century wives. It is significant that several of them begin with an admonishment by a mistress to her slave or slaves. In one the girl is severely taken to task before a woman friend: 'Like a stone, by God, not like a maid, you lie about the house. I have to order everything myself, and you, you wretched creature, don't do a single thing yourself. . . . You may thank the lady, for if she were not here I would let you have a taste of my hand.' To which the visitor consolingly remarks: 'We are both under the same yoke, dear Koritto; I also, day and night, must bark like a dog at this nameless pack.'

The nameless pack, however, relieved these ladies of all save the lightest and pleasantest household duties. One cannot nowadays agree with Aristotle's view that certain people were natural slaves and fit for no better life; but at a time when cheap and submissive domestic labour has vanished for ever more, we can perhaps appreciate the difference slavery made

to the wives of citizens, only the poorest among whom would be unable to own at least one of these human 'robots.'

Now although wives and mothers were completely under the tutelage of fathers and husbands, her father or grown-up son assuming the position of tutor in the case of a widow, it must not be supposed that these women, in spite of their dependent position, were incapable of sticking up for their own rights or those of their children. An oration of Lysias, fortunately preserved, introduces us to a nameless forerunner of feminism. Diodotus and Diogeiton were brothers. Diodotus became rich, and was persuaded by Diogeiton to wed his daughter. The uncle married the niece, and she bore him two sons and a daughter. He was later summoned to join the army and go to war, so he confided his money, his will, his wife and children to Diogeiton. The latter was a bad father and worse grandfather, for Diodotus having been killed in battle, he first concealed the news from the wife and children, and later appropriated their funds to his own use. Eight years afterwards, the eldest of the children having arrived at manhood, Diogeiton called both of them, and declared their father had only left them twenty minae of silver, and thirty staters. 'I have long maintained you,' said he, 'at my own expense, and whilst I was able you were welcome; now my circumstances are changed; do you, therefore, who have reached man's estate, consider how to provide for yourself.' 'Hearing these things they were confounded, and in tears returned to their mother, with whom they came to

me. . . . The mother insisted that I should convene her father and friends, saying, that though she had never been accustomed to speak in the presence of men, yet the weight of her present misfortunes would oblige her to disburden her mind.' By means of an account-book of her father's, of which she had accidentally obtained possession, this indignant mother succeeded in proving his villainy: 'And you, who obtained possession of all this property only for the benefit of the children—those very children, born of your own daughter, have you driven in rags from your house. . . . Yet you bring up the children of my stepmother in wealth and splendour; nor should I complain did you not injure mine . . . in such conduct neither reverencing the gods, nor respecting me your daughter.'

'Many wonderful and pathetic expressions, O Judges, were on this occasion displayed by the woman,' says Lysias, in pleading her case, which one hopes she won.

I now want to draw attention to the two main points of view from which these facts may be considered. There is the Anglo-Saxon attitude, illustrated by 'The Greek Commonwealth' of Zimmern,[4] and the Latin, as revealed in 'La Cité Antique' of Fustel de Coulanges.[5] As I also have my prejudices, I will at once frankly admit that they are on the side of the Latins. English students of the sexual life of ancient Greece seem incapable of judgment that is not tainted by sentimentality. They either attempt to whitewash or to idealize the various Greek relationships, whether of homosexuality or heterosexuality. Zimmern, for

example, at one point declares, 'that, while, as we have seen, the years of Athens' greatness were for men one of the happiest periods in the whole history of the world, the women who worked beside them were restless, uneasy, perplexed. Something was wrong; but neither they nor the men could lay their finger on the evil,' while on another page, he writes sympathetically and euphemistically of the Greek ideal of friendship. Moreover the fifth-century feminism is brought forward as a consequence of the freedom denied to women. To look on the problem from this point of view is essentially to see it through the mists of time, and particularly of our own recent past with its successful agitation for women's political, social, and economic rights. The bias of such a view becomes apparent when we realize that this agitation took place only within the last hundred years; that it has not yet attained all its objects; and that there are still thousands of men living who would, if they could, deprive women of all their privileges and relegate them to a position considerably inferior to that held by Grecian ladies or companions.

The Frenchman ignores this attitude. While the modern Frenchwoman is far behind the Englishwoman in political emancipation, while in theory she is still to a large extent under tutelage, in practice I should say she has much the better time. The Latins are no sentimentalists in matters of sex, and they are therefore able to discuss sexual relationships of the past far more coolly and rationally than the English.

De Coulanges points out the profound importance of religion in ancient marriage. He distinguishes

carefully between public and private religion. It was the domestic cult, the worship of ancestors, which brought Greek marriage into being.* Such marriage had a twofold reason: the wife was to guard the hearth and make the necessary offerings to her husband's ancestors, and was to bear him sons who would continue the cult. The marriage rite was primarily a religious ceremony in which the bride renounced the worship of her father's ancestors before being introduced by her husband to his own. For this reason there was such bitter opposition to marriage with foreign women who served strange and often inimical gods, and such contempt for the 'lower orders' who had no domestic deities and whose children, therefore, had no cult to carry on. This contempt is illustrated by an anecdote taken from Roman history at a time when the plebeians had begun to intermarry with the patricians. 'Fabius Ambustus, un des patriciens les plus distingués, avait marié ses deux filles, l'une à un patricien qui devint tribun militaire, l'autre à Licinius Stolon, homme fort en vue, mais plébéien. Celle-ci se trouvait un jour chez sa sœur, lorsque les licteurs, ramenant le tribun militaire à sa maison, frappèrent la porte de leurs faisceaux. Comme elle ignorait cet usage, elle eut peur. Les rires et les questions ironiques de sa sœur lui apprirent combien un mariage plébéien l'avait fait déchoir, en la plaçant dans un maison où les dignités et les honneurs ne devaient jamais entrer. Son père devina son chagrin, la consola et lui promit qu'elle verrait un jour chez elle ce qu'elle venait de voir dans la maison de sa sœur.

*Cf. 'Mothers in Israel.'

Il s entendit avec son gendre, et tous les deux travaillèrent au même dessin.'

Though women had no 'rights' the mother of the family had her title of honour as well as the father. 'La femme a des droits, car elle a sa place au foyer; c'est elle qui a la charge de veiller à ce qu'il ne s'éteigne pas. Elle a donc aussi son sacerdoce. Là où elle n'est pas le culte domestique est incomplet et insuffisant. C'est un grand malheur pour un Grec que d'avoir un foyer privé d'épouse. Chez les Romains la présence de la femme est si nécessaire dans le sacrifice, que le prêtre perd son sacerdoce en devenant veuf.'

Once we understand the power of religion to mould the life of the women (a power seen also among Jews and Christians), it is easy to understand their subordinate position, and also to sympathize with those who, from religious motives, condemned the adulteress to death and the sterile wife to divorce. Among the Greeks, as among the Jews, a wife could be mated with her husband's brother in order to produce children for the impotent husband, and it was the brother's duty to marry the widow.

Among the Greeks, as among the Jews, only males could carry on the religious traditions. Sons were therefore necessary; daughters, who on marrying renounced the worship of the father's gods for those of the husband, a luxury. This motive, while perhaps not so compelling in troublous times as the need for soldiers, must also have played its part in the more frequent exposure of female than of male infants.

Athenian wives and mothers certainly led strictly

secluded lives. But they were intensely conscious of the high respect in which they were held by the community; they were jealous of their position and privileges, and in these seem to have found a large amount of compensation for their abstention from the social activities of their husbands and the foreign women. How highly these rights were prized, is shown in a speech of Demosthenes quoted by Ménard and Sauvageot.[6] The case concerned Neaera, a foreign courtesan who had married an Athenian, and whose right to do so was violently contested. 'The most modest Athenian women,' declares Demosthenes, 'will be revolted that you have judged a Neaera worthy to share their civil and religious rights. . . . Remember our women citizens and do not prevent the daughter of a poor Athenian from settling herself. At present, however poor the young virgin may be, the law provides her with a sufficient dowry, so long as Nature has given her a more or less pleasant form. But if you defy this law by the acquittal of Neaera, the infamy of prostitution will defile the brows of the daughters of your fellow-citizens, who, failing a dowry, will be unable to marry, and the courtesan will enjoy all the privileges of the married woman.'

While the poor man put his wife and daughters to work, those of the wealthy citizens led the life of the 'idle rich.' They had the twin duties of hearth guardianship and the bearing of sons. For the rest slaves were provided. They were not altogether debarred from the theatre; they had plenty of music and games in their homes, and charming bird or animal

pets with which to amuse themselves. The women of the working classes (apart from the slaves) had fewer privileges but probably more freedom. They also exposed their unwanted children or practised abortion.

Slaves were slaves; but as de Coulanges points out, in the antique city there was not much freedom in practice for any one, man or woman, 'free' or enslaved. The city demanded quite as much as she gave. Slaves were at any rate treated as human beings, though not as equals. They were 'adopted' into the family with which they lived by a special ceremony. 'The slave was called to the hearth and was placed before the domestic god; lustral water was poured on his head, and he shared cake and fruit with the members of the family. The ceremony was analogous to those of marriage and adoption.'*

'Celibates,' we read elsewhere, 'were despised in the whole of Greece, but especially in Sparta.' 'Lycurgus,' says Plutarch,[7] 'attached to celibacy a touch of infamy' (as one would expect in a religion of ancestor worship ordering the continuance of the family). 'Celibates were excluded from the gymnastic contests of the girls, and the magistrates forced them, in winter, to go naked in procession singing a song which mocked them, and which declared that they were justly punished for having disobeyed the laws. In old age they were deprived of the honours and the respect which the young men rendered to the old. If the men without families were not honoured it goes without saying that the same applied to the

*Cf. the Pentateuch.

women. Apart from married women there existed in Greece no others but the courtesans.'

Zimmern quotes the words of Demosthenes, repeated at the head of this chapter, to show the Greek point of view regarding the two strictly divided groups of women in Athens, the native-born wives and mothers of legitimate offspring, and the 'companions,' 'left-handed wives,' concubines, prostitutes, and women workers in various trades, nearly all of whom were foreigners.

'The regulations of Solon were designed to preserve public order and decency. He established houses of prostitution (dicteria), which were a State monopoly and confined to certain quarters. The dicteriades were forbidden the superior parts of the town, and were placed under various disabilities. They were compelled to wear a distinctive dress, and, so far from being connected with religion, they were not allowed to take part in religious services. These laws do not seem to have been carried out at all effectually, and were presently relaxed. . . . There were grades of prostitution, socially though not legally recognized, and women of a superior order were too powerful for the law, which failed to maintain the bar against them. The Greek hetaerae, who were prostitutes, not "mistresses," and the most brilliant and gifted members of their class known to history, wielded great and open influence. The test case of Phryne, in which the stern attitude hitherto maintained by the Areopagus broke down, established their triumph over the law, *deprived virtuous women of their sole advantage,* and opened the door to

general laxity' (Dr. A. Shadwell).[4] The italics are mine.

If de Coulanges's dual interpretation of the duties of wives is correct, Dr. Shadwell is wrong. Virtuous women had two advantages; for only those who had gone through the sacred rite of marriage, the hymeneal rite, could serve the domestic deities. When, however, the old religion weakened, this exclusiveness, though still theoretically upheld, might have been weakened in practice.

But although mothers were honoured and courtesans enjoyed by the men of Athens (Aspasia's triumphs illustrate the heights to which they could rise), most of a Greek's boyhood and manhood were passed in the companionship and very often intimate love-friendship of men. While the early Jewish religion resembled the Greek in many points, especially where morals were concerned; while both, for example, condemned adultery as a deadly sin punishable by death, a tremendous gap opens between them on this question. The Greeks worshipped idols, and endeavoured to make images of their gods and heroes embodying as nearly as possible all the beauty and nobility of the human form. The Jewish idol was a box containing the law; the Jewish god a formless 'I am.' Hence there was no striving after a god-like perfection of bodily form among the Jews; there were no physical exercises or competitive games; there was no consequent emotional delight in athleticism, in the beautiful boy so adored by the Greek poet and philosopher. And as Europe later chose Jesus in preference to Plato, Europe took over the

Jewish horror of homosexual emotions and behaviour. It is amusing to reflect that this simple ancient religious difference has caused an immense amount of scandal in England and America, where public schools and universities for boys and young men, until recently almost exclusively staffed by Christian ministers, carried on the Greek addiction to athletics with all its inevitable emotional consequences. These same ministers are now among the most ardent advocates of compulsory games, on the ground that they send the boys and young men to bed tired, and so prevent them from getting into equally Greek forms of 'depravity.' Exquisite paradox!

In conclusion the following facts face us. Greek wives and mothers were generally economically secure. They had no rights, but the husband or father was also the guardian; in the event of his death the nearest male relation took on his duties. Slaves performed all the menial duties of the household. The mistresses amused themselves with shopping, music, games, and pets. Whatever changes in the status of motherhood Christian European civilization may have brought about, it is doubtful whether any of them secured to the mothers of the race a great economic security, an equal freedom from duties in conflict with the claims of motherhood, and such a large number of cheap domestic auxiliaries. Assuming that in the fifth century there was a demand for a wider life for respectable women, such a demand only reveals what an 'advanced' state Greek civilization had then reached; a parallel agitation does not seem to have been voiced again in Europe until very recent times.

Roman women under the Republic and under a similar religion led similar lives to those of Grecian women. But the boundaries were widening.

By the time we reach the Roman Empire, very important changes in the position of wives and mothers have come about. According to the letter of the law, the married woman occupied pretty much the same status as she did in Greece. In the early days the seclusion of wives and mothers was still customary, but as Roman civilization became more luxurious, customs changed, wives were 'emancipated,' the career of the prostitute lost its lustre, and adultery became common. In the time of Plautus[9] married women had become sufficiently ambitious to rival in their extravagance the wives of American and other millionaires of to-day. Clothes, jewels, perfumes, and almost all the modern methods of wasting money in rivalry with other women, were enjoyed by them. And the bachelor was no longer looked on with scorn and disgust. On the contrary, he, according to the comic writers, congratulated himself on having escaped marriage with a woman who would squander his money unwisely. Faithfulness and children became rarer in the higher classes as the Empire proceeded to its end, yet among wealthy women the numbers of slaves increased. To read of them (and not only of them, but of their modern imitators) is to be reminded of the slave-making or 'amazon' ant, Polyergus, of whom Wheeler[10] says: 'These insects are unable to make nests or even to feed themselves or care for their own young, but are absolutely dependent on their slaves. . . . An amazon crimson on a field sable

with the device "stultus sed pugnax" might be an appropriate coat-of-arms for some of the military castes that have flourished during the course of human history.' But the amazon queens were at least capable of fighting and of laying sufficient eggs to carry on their race.

Aristotle: 'Politics.'
Xenophon: 'Oeconomicus.'
Herondas: 'Die Mimiamben; deutsch mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen.'
Zimmern: 'The Greek Commonwealth.'
Fustel de Coulanges: 'La Cité Antique.'
Ménard and Sauvageot: 'La Famille dans l'Antiquité.
Plutarch: 'Life of Lycurgus.'
Dr. A. Shadwell: 'Prostitution,' Ency. Brit.
Plautus: 'Comedies.'
Wheeler: 'Social Life among the Insects.'

Chapter 3

THE MOTHER OF GOD AND THE MOTHERS OF MEN

One half of Europe worships a Jew and the other half a Jewess.

Disraeli.

SUMMARY

1. Christianity and women.
2. Lowering of status of motherhood.
3. Rise of celibacy.
4. Madonna worship.
5. Theoretical interpretations.
6. Mediæval treatment of women.

CHAPTER III

THE MOTHER OF GOD AND THE MOTHERS OF MEN

One half of Europe worships a Jew and the other half a Jewess.

DISRAELI.

We have now reached the point in history at which there arose the concept of the status of women—of mother, wife, celibate, and prostitute, which has had the most positive and lasting influence down to our own times, the point at which the Christian Church enters the story, and lays down the law for females as well as for males; for the Church endowed women as well as men with souls that could be damned and must be saved.

Vast numbers of women now come under the laws of a new institution which itself must conform to the law we have already noted—that of birth, growth, maturity, decay, and death. For the sake of simplicity, I shall assume here the historicity of Jesus. We have now to examine how his disciples and heirs, those people who produced the headlines for the Song of Solomon (a luscious love-song glorifying sexual intercourse), and sub-edited it as a dialogue between 'Christ' and 'The Church,' handled the problems of sex.

That Jesus was not, in Trotter's sense, a 'stable' type, and that he was one of the very few original thinkers of his time, can be readily admitted. And nowhere do we find an apter illustration of my theory of the adaptation of the ideas of original thinkers by disciples of a more stable mental type, than in the case of Jesus, the inventor, and Paul, the founder, of the Christian Church—Jesus embodies pure, Paul, applied Christianity.

The two most important ideas which arise out of institutionalized Christianity regarding the status of motherhood, are those which led to the establishment of female celibates as nuns, and the worship of the 'mother of God.' But before we examine them more closely, we will quote a few passages from Paul[1] and other early Fathers, with regard to the functions and duties of the ordinary wife and mother. The attitude of St. Paul has been of enormous significance, in Roman Catholic no more than in Protestant countries, in forming public opinion right down to the most recent times. Although, with the admirable justice which characterized his commandments within their narrow limits, he enjoined certain duties on husbands no less than on wives, his asceticism caused him to condemn marriage in general, and to sanction it only on grounds disgusting to a different type of mind. I quote from a modern translation of Westcott and Hort's Greek text:—

'It would be well for a man to remain single. But, owing to the prevalence of immorality, I advise every man to have his own wife, and every woman her husband. . . . Do not deprive each other of what is

due—unless it is only for a time and by mutual consent, so that your minds may be free for prayer till you again live as man and wife—lest Satan should take advantage of your want of self-control and tempt you. . . .'

'. . . It will be well for them to remain as I am myself. But if they cannot control themselves, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to be consumed with passion. . . .'

'. . . The unmarried man is anxious about the Master's Cause, desiring to please him; while the married man is anxious about worldly matters, desiring to please his wife. . . . Again, the unmarried woman, whether she is old or young, is anxious about the Master's Cause, striving to be pure both in body and in spirit, while the married woman is anxious about worldly matters, desiring to please her husband. . . .'

'. . . I do not consent to a woman's becoming a teacher, or exercising authority over a man; she ought to be silent. Adam was formed first, not Eve. And it was not Adam who was deceived and fell into sin. But women will find their salvation in motherhood, if they never abandon faith, love, or holiness, and behave with modesty. . . .'

The virgin is then, according to St. Paul, a 'better' woman than the wife; marriage is only the alternative to greater evil, and it is the chief duty of the wife to submit to her husband's embraces in order to save him from less respectable liaisons; whilst motherhood is women's chance to expiate the evil done by Eve, and will only be counted to their credit, provided it

is carried out in a spirit of faith, love (of Christ), holiness, and modesty.

Tertullian[2] and St. Augustine[3] among the early Christians were less moderate and sensibly tempered than Paul. Both would have welcomed race suicide on a generous scale, in the belief that 'much more speedily would the City of God be filled and the end of the world hastened.' The Council of Trent[4] later decreed that 'If any one shall say that the state of marriage is to be preferred to the state of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity or celibacy than to be joined in matrimony, let him be anathema.'

The Christian point of view is of profound importance, not only because it received very wide acceptance in the past, but because it to this day affects the position of wives and mothers in so many States. The later consequences of it will occupy us when we come to the history and the interpretation of the facts regarding birth control. For the moment we note that with regard to the benefits to be conferred 'hereafter,' the cloistered virgin took precedence of the wife, the wife of the mother; the wife of a diseased, cruel, or lecherous husband was fulfilling a more laudable duty than the wife who had to submit to less odious embraces; the more frequent and more painful the pregnancies, the greater the victim could count her share in the feminine expiation of Eve's sin. Some of the results of this teaching are still exhibited for our contemplation; in England, the wife of a lunatic can only be released from cohabitation (but not from matrimony) if he is certified and shut up; in Belgium thousands

of women suffer agonies in childbirth because the doctors refuse to administer anaesthetics, in most cases on the grounds of religious prejudice.

In connection with the advocacy of celibacy that came in with Christianity, we must recall some other facts. In pre-Christian or non-Christian communities surplus children were either exposed or births were prevented by abortion. Moreover, abstention from sexual intercourse for a definite period after the birth of a child was current in savage as well as in highly civilized societies. This was partly possible owing to the institution of polygamy, though in monogamous marriage, especially in countries such as Greece, where men did not depend alone on their wives for the appeasement of their passions, it was also successfully practised. Now, however, although exposure and abortion were prohibited, there was no longer any ban on sexual intercourse between husband and wife at any period. We have seen that the legitimate spouses of the ancient Greeks, those 'pagans' who had no 'morals,' enjoyed the highest respect; it is instructive to look at the position of the Victorian Christian wife, particularly in her relations with her husband, from the point of view of Mr. Bernard Shaw[5]:—

'The late Hugh Price Hughes, an eminent Methodist divine, once organized in London a conference of respectable men to consider the subject' (Marriage). 'Nothing came of it (nor indeed could have come of it in the absence of women); but it had its value as giving the sociologists present, of whom I was one, an authentic notion of what a picked audience of

respectable men understood by married life. It was certainly a staggering revelation. Peter the Great would have been shocked; Byron would have been horrified; Don Juan would have fled from the conference into a monastery. The respectable men all regarded the marriage ceremony as a rite which absolved them from the laws of health and temperance; inaugurated a life-long honeymoon; and placed their pleasures on exactly the same footing as their prayers. It seemed entirely proper and natural to them that out of every twenty-four hours of their lives, they should pass eight shut up in one room with their wives alone, and this, not bird-like, for the mating season, but all the year round and every year. . . . Please remember, too, that there was nothing in their circumstances to check intemperance. . . .'

But I go too fast.

The nunnery of medieval times was 'either a career, a vocation, a prison, a refuge';[6] but it was all these things mainly to the daughters of the high-born and the rich. For the poor of Europe there existed a kind of secular celibacy, which was brought into being by feudal law. This did not permit serfs or villeins to marry off their daughters without paying a fine to the lord of the manor. The guilds, too, saw to it that their apprentices did not marry young. One cannot help contrasting the enforced female labour and (frequently enforced) nunnery of this period, with those happy days of ancient Athens when few young native-born girls need fear spinsterhood owing to poverty or religious restrictions.

It is possible that this state of affairs was largely

responsible for the widespread cult of the Madonna which presently arose in Europe, and which has given us some of our finest art, as well as some of our worst.

In that equally learned and witty book, 'Old Calabria,' Mr. Norman Douglas[7] traces some of the many traditions and motives which, flowing from different sources, merged into the great treacly stream of Madonna worship. 'Male saints lost their chief *raison d'être,* and these virile creatures were superseded by pacific woman. So, to give only one instance, Saint Rosalie in Palermo displaced the former protector Saint Mark. Her sacred bones were miraculously discovered in a cave; and have since been identified as those of a goat!'

'Of the Madonna no mention occurs in the songs of Bishop Paulinus (fourth century); no monument exists in the Neapolitan catacombs. Thereafter her cult begins to dominate.'

According to Douglas the triumph of Madonna worship over the devotion to miscellaneous saints was due to two main causes. She supplied the natives of Southern Italy with a female motive in religion hitherto lacking in Christianity, though it had been prevalent enough in its predecessors; and the Vatican encouraged it in order to sweep away the particularist tendencies of the past.

I venture to think that psychology can furnish a plausible explanation of its extraordinary fervour. However much we may disagree with the views of Freud considered as scientific theory, they are extremely suggestive and helpful in certain cases. In medieval Europe we have a large percentage of the pop-

ulation in whom, either on religious or secular grounds, the procreative instinct is frustrated, or the begetting and bearing of children is delayed until middle age. It does not seem to me far-fetched to suggest that in the case of the females of this population, an 'inferiority complex' may have arisen, which caused them to glorify the maternal function denied to them. Madonna worship, to use the Freudian terminology, was a sublimation of the maternal desire. It is suggestive in this connection, that no such cult has ever arisen among Jewish women. They continued to marry early and to bear children normally. Moreover the Messianic cult, which has always played such an important part in Jewish psychology, caused Jewish parents fervently to hope that any one of their 'geese' might turn out to be the 'swan' who would save the race. This may explain the extraordinary care lavished by Jewish mothers on their infant sons—potential Messiahs every one—or their daughters—potential mothers of a Messiah every one. Moreover the dubious paternity of Jesus, which necessitated the invention of the Annunciation, in order to remove a possible slur on his origin, would tell against him heavily in a community in which marriage and legitimate offspring were as highly prized by the women as in ancient Greece.

For those who find the terminology of Freud distasteful, one might put the case in the manner of an older and certainly quite respectable psychologist, the philosopher, Hermann Lotze.[8] Lotze advanced what I consider a very ingenious theory to explain the human passion for clothes, ornaments, and decoration.

It is the idea of so-called 'extension of personality.' When we grasp or use a tool, he says, we feel, not merely the contact of that tool with our fingers, but also the contact of its furthest end with another object. This gives us a sense of extension and of power. High heels raise their wearers above their usual level; but the fact that we are conscious of the contact of the heels with the pavement, as well as with our feet, is the real reason why high heels give pleasure to small people. Every object we add to our clothing gives us this sensation. This explains the otherwise obscure delight in jewels, furs, uniforms, vestments, and other apparently useless additions to dress. Merely aesthetic pleasure may partly account for it, but not altogether. If his view is correct, it also can be extended. Trains, motor cars, and aeroplanes do not merely convey us more quickly from place to place than our feet could do—they also satisfy our desire for power over our environment. Our books, our pictures, our furniture accordingly also become part of us, of our personalities. Poor women who possess nothing can experience compensatory satisfaction by flocking to church doors and for brief moments identifying themselves with the wealthy, beautiful, and admired bride. From the bride of a prince to the bride of God is not, according to this interpretation, such a big step. The theories of Lotze and of Freud seem to fit in very well with one another. The person with an inferiority complex will endeavour to extend his personality as much as possible—witness the millionaire—especially the Jewish one, who has had to face a lot of anti-Semitism—whose displays put the aris-

tocrat to shame. It is easy, on such assumptions, to understand the sheer necessity of poor, lowly, over-prolific, or childless women for the comfort of some such concept as that of the Madonna—the bride of Heaven, the mother of God, throning it among the angels, riding on the crescent moon, the only female closely intertwined with all personages of the Trinity. In Protestant monarchies, queens, princesses, and their babies are substituted for the saintly Mary, while in certain republics, film stars play similar parts.*

Madonna worship, both on its religious and on its secular side, was then an outlet for the subjective extension of emotions. While saints and ascetics 'sublimated' these emotions in ways on which Mr. Douglas is both instructive and amusing—and other writers, such as the American psychologist Leuba,[9] corroborate his views—the normal male expressed his devotion to his wife and the mother of his children by protecting her, and begetting and helping to rear the family as well as his circumstances allowed. Leaving apart for the moment the question whether motherhood can be successfully practised in conjunction with many other duties, we cannot state that mothers, under the feudal system, were on the whole worse off economically than fathers. The scale of living of those 'good old times' would seem probably no more intolerable to the modern working woman than to the modern working man.

But while the mother of God was worshipped by men and women alike, the mother of Christian boys

*The cult of an unmarried heir to a throne is almost exclusively confined to young girls or unsatisfied wives.

and girls was often subjected to treatment which must have made the convent seem indeed a haven and a refuge.[10] 'Wife-beating was a recognized right of man, and was practised without shame by high as well as low. The woman's defence was her tongue, sometimes giving her the mastery in the household, but often leading to muscular retort. One of the fifteenth-century English translations of the fashionable manual of the Knight of La Tour Landry, thus describes the proper treatment of a scolding wife:—

'He smote her with his fist down to the earth. And then with his foot he struck her in the visage and brake her nose, and all her life after she had her nose crooked, that she might not for shame show her visage it was so foul blemished. . . . Therefore the wife ought to suffer and let the husband have the word, and to be master.' It is instructive to compare this excerpt from the Age of Chivalry with the methods of wife-training described by Iscomachus.

In the days before cheap novels, cheap film theatres, cheap sentimental ballads, the emotional 'urges' of the simple could only find an outlet through the channels afforded by the Church. Just as it provided feasts, processions, entertainments, and other 'circuses' to amuse the faithful, it provided a saintly figure which could be all things to all men —and women. To the women of the medieval world the Mother of God was representative of an idea of motherhood which perhaps in no other way could have been so satisfactorily embodied. Even to-day we find illustrations of this craving and its satisfaction. In the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in

Rome, we can still watch the women of a quite medieval simple-mindedness stand in rapture before the crêche erected there at Christmas-time. The person of keen aesthetic feeling may shudder at its cheap vulgarity and garishness, but he will have to admit, when he looks at the shining faces around him, that, like the American ballads on mothers and grandmothers, which he views with equal detestation, it fulfils a need. As St. Paul so aptly points out, it is no use offering meat to sucklings.

Where, however, you have an emotional outlet of this kind, where human beings feel themselves extended and uplifted by such means, they will nearly always be lulled and moderately satisfied with their lot. Even among people of a higher culture, one can note with astonished interest how faith in gods, particularly in such as may or do perform miracles, according to the believer, vitiates independence of thought or action. It would not be to the advantage of any Church which, for example, requires obedience and financial assistance in this world in return for the promise of beatitude in that to come, to propagate the view that 'God helps those who help themselves.' Even mere philanthropists and politicians are divided into two parties on this question.

Westcott and Hort's text: St. Paul, Corinthians i. 7
Timothy i. 2.
Tertullian: 'De Anima.'
Augustine: 'On the Good of Marriage.'
Lea: 'Sacerdotal Celibacy.'
Bernard Shaw: Preface to 'Getting Married.'
Eileen Power: 'Mediæval English Nunneries.'
Norman Douglas: 'Old Calabria.'
Hermann Lotze: 'Microcosmos.'
Leuba: 'The Psychology of Religious Mysticism.'
Trevelyan: 'History of England.'

Chapter 4

REVOLUTIONS

Who is against us? who is on our side?
Whose heart of all men's hearts is one with man's?
Swinburne, 'The Eve of Revolution.'

SUMMARY

1. Royal favourites.
2. Royal wives.
3. Women in the eighteenth century.
4. Revolutionary influences.
5. Rise of the industrial system.
6. Economic improvement of middle classes.
7. Domestic servants.
8. Influence of Queen Victoria.
9. Beginnings of feminism.

CHAPTER IV

REVOLUTIONS

Who is against us? who is on our side?
Whose heart of all men's hearts is one with man's?
SWINBURNE, 'The Eve of Revolution.'

The Aspasias of this world have always done well for themselves. Less insistence is now laid on 'wickedness' than formerly, and the twentieth-century biographies of such ladies as Mme. de Maintenon and Nell Gwynne lay more stress on their subject's piety or kindness of heart, than on the manner in which they achieved their eminence. The opening up of 'honest' careers for women and the development of democracy, have unlocked other doors than those of regal bedrooms to the beautiful and the ambitious.

History is nevertheless full of examples to prove that whenever the position of the majority of women has been lowly or desperate, there have been a minority who could rise to power and plenty. Mme. de Maintenon and Nell Gwynne were practically contemporary. But whereas the well-advertised piety of the royal governess made her an ally the Church dared not refuse, the English actress won the affection of a scientifically-minded and irreligious king and a light-hearted unmoral people by her naughtiness. Mme.

de Maintenon was not content to be the king's mistress or even his morganatic wife; she aspired to as much political power as she was able to obtain. As the wife of Scarron the dramatist (who coined the witty phrase 'esprit d'escalier'), she had been something of a high-brow, even for her pretentious times; while no brow could have been lower than that of Nelly, who could barely sign her own name. They had almost nothing in common, save the power to win and hold royal affections, in their day the most valuable asset a woman could possess.

The case of royal wives has often strikingly illustrated, by heightening the effects, the situation of the common women of their time. The question of love rarely entered into their marriages; they were bought or sold in exchange for land or treaties or concessions; their husbands were almost expected to be unfaithful to them, while they were to provide a large progeny for men they seldom liked and frequently detested. It was a little easier, perhaps, for a king to get rid of an unwanted queen than for lowlier men to discard wives; but the situation of all married women was pretty similar. On the whole a king's 'affairs,' provided they did not utterly scandalize his very broad-minded subjects, and provided they did not cost the country too much money, added to his popularity. Charles II.'s most hated mistress was a foreigner and a Roman Catholic. But let a murmur assail the queen's name, and the people would turn on her with almost Biblical anger. It is no more than one would expect. The people's instinct was not so mistaken in demanding chastity from a royal or any other mother; though

kingly lapses from virtue might contaminate the Blood Royal with venereal disease, as appears occasionally to have happened, this danger was not realized until quite recently.

While Christianity offered future bliss and the spectacle of the beatitude of Christ's mother and the Saints as soporifics to the mothers and children slaving in coal-mines, or to the starved apprentices of the towns, no one worried greatly about their present misery till, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century middle-class men and women appeared, to whom these future promises seemed an inadequate addition to famine wages and general insecurity. Opera-goers of to-day vaguely know the name of Caron de Beaumarchais,[1] as that of the librettist who supplied Mozart with the raw material for 'The Marriage of Figaro.' Fear of ruin drove this rebel of genius to clothe his onslaughts on the Church and aristocracy of his time in the lightest prose or verse, but the rhyme at the end of the line did not obliterate the sting in the middle of it. Figaro, the 'little' man, the 'small' shopkeeper, clerk, author, journalist, actor, the 'intellectual' from the modest middle-class home, was a type for whom, in the days when the feudal system still had a kick in it, and when the power of priest and lawyer was bought by bribes or threats, there was small hope. Let him speak for himself:—

'Non, Monsieur le Comte, vous ne l'aurez pas. . . . Parce que vous êtes un grand seigneur, vous vous croyez un grand génie . . . noblesse, fortune, un rang, des places: tout cela rend si fier! Qu'avez-

vous fait pour tant de biens? Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus; du reste, homme assez ordinaire! tandis que moi, morbleu! perdu dans le foule obscure, il m'a fallu déployer plus de science et de calculs pour subsister seulement, qu'on n'en a mis depuis cent ans à gouverner toutes les Espagnes. . . .' (And after describing his failure to live more or less honestly by his wits) 'O bizarre suite d'évênements! Comment cela m'est-il arrivé? Pourquoi ces choses, et non pas d'autres? Qui les a fixées sur ma tête? Force de parcourir la route où je suis entré sans le savoir comme j'en sortirai sans le vouloir, je l'ai jonchée d'autant de fleurs que ma gaieté me l'a permis. . . .'

Beaumarchais was a precursor of the French Revolution. But although a starving people were able to rid themselves of their parasitic aristocracy, they could only by doing so endeavour to bring about a more equal distribution of what goods already existed. It was the English, the industrial revolution, that was to provide more goods and thus to raise the standard of living for the whole world, and to bring into social life as a powerful factor the middle class, the industrial, commercial, trading and banking class. It was the industrial revolution, too, which, by carrying over into factory life the sweated wages, the woman and child labour, of home industry, magnified these intolerable conditions by reproducing them on a sweeping scale.

Tucked away in villages or townlets, days' journeys apart owing to the lack of convenient means of communication, or huddled in the hovels of the cities, the

women and children carried on those delightful crafts so much regretted by Christian apologists like Messrs. Chesterton and Belloc. 'No Charity Commission was to be feared in those days, no State grant was hoped for, no government inspector moved through the land. . . . Here again there was no inspection of domestic conditions of service. The evil-minded and avaricious master could mis-use his apprentice with little fear of anything beyond a bad reputation among his neighbours. Pauper children, apprenticed to the lower type of master or mistress, perished as miserably as the same class of children in the worst factories of a later generation. So far from originating cruelty to children, the factory system called attention to the evil by concentrating it where all could see, and so stimulated indignation that brought it to an end.'[2]

The advantage of the factory system to the health of the population is well described by Mr. G. Talbot Griffith in 'Population Problems of the Age of Malthus.'[3] 'A great deal has been written,' he says, 'about the days of domestic industry and some very idealized pictures have been drawn. As a broad generalization, domestic industry is not likely to be the more healthy. For a whole working family to live and work in one place, which has to be both home and workshop, is not a good plan unless the conditions are ideal and unless the alternative to working at home is working in another place which is very much worse than the home. The domestic system was destroyed by the concentration of industry in towns resulting from the greater part played by capital and by the use of steam power. . . . At the

time that the population was growing rapidly, so also were the towns and the factories; but because it is easy to say many hard things about the factories, it does not follow that in the altered circumstances they were not an improvement on what the continuance of the domestic system might have meant.'

Even in modern England we still have examples of home and factory industry before us, side by side. We have only to visit an East End tailor employer and his hands, and then to look over the industrial settlements of the type of Port Sunlight, to see in what directions the two kinds of employment tend.

I venture to think that the mothers of to-day would still be mentally and physically in pretty much the same position, would be living as, in most Latin States with the exception of France, they still are, in medieval conditions, had it not been for the Protestant industrial nations of Europe, such as Germany, England, Holland, and Scandinavia. It may perhaps also be shown that in mainly agricultural countries, those of them, that is, where agriculture has not become a branch of modern industry, developed on industrial lines, based on scientific inquiry and carried on by the use mainly of industrial implements, the women are worse off economically and socially than in others.

Leaving aside for the present the growth of the industrial working class, let us now consider the social position of the women in the classes just above them. Industry gave their male relations opportunities to make either a comfortable living or to become rich, but it not only enabled the parvenu to

buy land and a castle (which on the whole he rarely did)—it enabled people who merely possessed a six or eight roomed house in a large town to live on a scale vastly more luxurious than that of the country gentry in the fifty years or so preceding them. Factory-made carpets and linoleum, factory beds and bedding, furniture and ornaments, factory-produced cotton and woollen garments, all the implements of the household, dozens of tools and utensils the housewife has long taken for granted, could then, for the first time, be cheaply obtained; these were the main improvements which enormously ameliorated the lot of the middle-class woman. There was one other—the development of domestic service.

The slave had given way to the slavey. Now slavery, although it has long been held to be morally degrading to the slave, had one great point in its favour. If the slave was at his owner's mercy and compelled to suffer the abuses inflicted by a bad master, there was a very considerable feeling among the masters and mistresses of the old days that their serfs were 'their' people, human beings who had a claim on them and for whose welfare they were responsible. The great lady of the country might be haughty and domineering, but the benefits she conferred upon her dependents were very real. It may have been a rough sort of welfare work which was carried out by these women before the days of State-organized institutions for the care of the sick, the old, the young, and the very poor; but those who practised and received these benefits thought of one another as human beings, however widely separated by the

divisions of caste. 'Noblesse' did 'oblige' in those days; and in addition to the work it caused the 'higher-born' women to carry out, it compelled them to set an example, which, excepting those of them who belonged to the highest and most selfish sets, they did very earnestly.

Such obligations as lay on them did not, however, trouble the wives of industrialists or of commercial or professional men considerably advanced in wealth by industry. The growth of the city forced the State or the local councils to take up the burden of philanthropy, which became far too great and grew far too rapidly to be amenable to private efforts. But whereas the people did not take the socialistic point of view and accept this help as their due until very much later, the new masters and mistresses were relieved of the necessity for private philanthropy, and at the same time were ignorant of the obligations which were traditional with the gentry dating from feudal times.

The position of women servants right up to 1914 was on the whole an extremely wretched one. Although there must always have been a minority of kind women who treated their maids well, these girls had not the slightest right to expect living wages, comfortable lodgings, sufficient food, or any spiritual or physical assistance if they were unhappy or in bad health. The disgracefully unfair custom of the 'character' arose. If a girl refused to remain in her situation less than one year, however abominable the conditions, or if for some small offence she was dismissed, she could not hope to get a reference—and without a reference no self-respecting woman would employ her. The

mistress had, until so recently, everything on her side, and it is possible that if she had not so consistently and so cruelly misused her powers, certain problems which we shall examine shortly would not to-day confront her.

During the Victorian era then, the middle-class housewife was on the whole better off, as far as domestic organization went, than all but the very greatest ladies who had preceded her. According to her husband's income she could employ from one to as many maids as her house needed; the services of a nurse, a governess, and a sewing-woman were also easily available to her.

But if in the nineteenth century economic conditions improved vastly, and domestic service became an important auxiliary to motherhood, public opinion regarding maternal obligations did not progress beyond the views of St. Paul and his immediate successors. We have now to consider the main cause of its failure to advance in this matter.

Although unusual and rapidly growing economic prosperity contributed to the raising of the birth-rate among the population, perhaps it was not the only cause of the large families which were still the rule among the middle classes. These classes were the bulwarks of the Church, and still took the teaching of the Fathers literally; but in addition this teaching was rigidly upheld in theory, and backed up in practice by the State, in the person of Queen Victoria.*

Queen Victoria is pre-eminent among virtuous Christian women who count for the historian. It is difficult for those born after her death to imagine with

*The late Kaiserin of Germany also had a very large family.

any conviction the enormous impression her personality made on the minds of women during her reign. I remember among my most vivid recollections being cajoled by my nurse into writing a letter to the dear Queen (which was duly acknowledged from Buckingham Palace). I was seven years old when Her Majesty died. At her death I was greatly impressed by the numbers of women who went into mourning for her. I understood that one only wore black for a relation, and I was perplexed by seeing all sorts of women doing so for so remote and superior a being. But this was what I should have found difficult to realize if I had been born ten years later: Victoria identified herself to an extraordinary degree with the ambitions, views, and behaviour of the sensible middle-class women of her period. Her hold on them was curiously personal; if Madonna-worship in other times and places had satisfied a feminine craving for personal extension, it was replaced in Protestant England of the nineteenth century by Queen-worship.

When the newspapers began to exploit the private lives of the later Royal Family in the manner invented by the Northcliffe Press, they did not have to create a demand. The interest, though not so blatantly catered for, was immensely strong in Victorian times. The Queen as Christian wife and mother was indeed an example; and if in other spheres her female subjects were unable to follow her, in this one they could attempt emulation with some prospects of success.

'. . . A few aristocrats might sniff and titter; but with the nation at large the Queen was now once

more extremely popular. The middle classes, in particular, were pleased. They liked a love-match; they liked a household which combined the advantages of Royalty and virtue, and in which they seemed to see, reflected as in some resplendent looking-glass, the ideal image of the very lives they led themselves. Their own existences, less exalted, but oh, so soothingly similar, acquired an added excellence, an added succulence, from the early hours, the regularity, the plain tuckers, the round games, the roast beef and Yorkshire pudding of Osborne.'[4]

The Queen had nine children; her last was born in 1857. The Prince Consort died in 1861; if he had not done so the family might easily have been increased. The curious point to note is that a marked drop in the birth-rate occurred about 1870, nine years after his death. Birth and death rates are influenced by many factors, as experts have shown. Human fecundity, however, is not, as in the case of animals, a merely physiological fact; it is also regulated by economic and to some extent by psychological factors. If the limitation of the family were a mere matter of the accessibility of the articles advocated by Dr. Marie Stopes, it would not be as old as humanity. We know that it can be practised by many means—from the crude methods of abortion and infanticide adopted by savages, to voluntary asceticism, mainly advocated by the Church.

The importance of the economic factor in this matter is also predominant. We have seen that the middle-class women of the end of the nineteenth century were on the whole extremely well off, and as they got used to prosperity, their husbands did not

inevitably devote the whole of their wealth to domestic needs. There were dozens of amusements, previously strictly the prerogatives of the ruling classes, on which a man might spend his money and his surplus energy. Foremost among these was sport. There was also a great educational boom. Middle-class parents began to send their boys to a public school as an investment; the 'right' sort of hall-mark opened vast opportunities for subsequent gain of money and fame. Inevitably with such a sweeping expansion of possibilities for every member—social activity for the mother, political and sporting activity for the father, and dazzling chances for their offspring to rise high in the social scale, it must have occurred to middle-class parents at about this time that a smaller family would be advantageous to all concerned. At this period, too, feminism, so long cooped up in nunneries and in nursing and educational activities in which a nun-like discipline was still insisted on, began to take firm steps forward.

From the end of Victoria's reign to the beginning of the recent war, there seems to have been among women of all classes and among many men on their behalf, a desire for a more intense and extensive personal life. More and more honourable alternatives to the career of motherhood presented themselves to the woman of education; the office and the factory beckoned to girls on a lower social scale as free and well-remunerated alternatives to the slavery of teaching, nursing, and domestic service; the Press and the stage encouraged the spending of money on 'vanities'; a woman began to believe that she not only had the

right to earn her income, but also to dissipate it if she chose.

During these years philanthropy and socialism jointly were beginning to accept on a larger and larger scale the responsibilities of parents; systematic study of the child from the physiological and psychological points of view advanced very rapidly, and with theory went practice, in the form of all kinds of organizations, some subsidized by the State, others by private individuals, from crêches and infant-welfare centers to adolescent or adult after-school education.

No mother who could possibly afford a nurse now, except in exceptional circumstances, undertook the rearing of her own children; for those who could not keep a private auxiliary the State or philanthropists endeavoured to provide one.

The point to note is, that the immeasurable improvement in the mother's position now taking place did not encourage motherhood; on the contrary, the more easy it became the more attractive seemed the alternatives to it.

Caron de Beaumarchais: 'The Marriage of Figaro.'
Trevelyan: 'History of England.'
G. Talbot Griffith: 'Population Problems of the Age of Malthus.'
Lytton Strachey: 'Queen Victoria.'

Chapter 5

THE FOOLISH VIRGINS

C'est Vénus toute entière à sa proie attachée.
Racine.

SUMMARY

1. The influence of the stage.
2. Feminine morals.
3. Decline of taboo on illegitimacy.
4. Venereal infection.
5. Professional and amateur prostitution.
6. Economics of prostitution.
7. Birth control and unmarried women.
8. Decline in value of virginity.

CHAPTER V

THE FOOLISH VIRGINS

C'est Vénus toute entière à sa proie attachée.

RACINE.

We have now to consider the rehabilitation of the stage in the nineteenth century as an important fact in feminine history. Prostitution no less than any other profession has its degrees. From about the sixteenth century, the stage had played an important part in European culture. For several hundred years the performers were either all males or women of 'bad' character. Princes, dukes, statesmen, and rich men took their mistresses from the boards, and even the greatest actresses, such as Rachel, had many notorious love affairs. In most European countries actresses still do not try to be domesticated, nor are they considered so, but in England things developed in a different way. It gradually became accepted that a leading lady could be a virgin—(though whether a virgin can be a good actress is a matter for the dramatic critics). The virginity of actresses became an asset to the profession and to individual members of it; they cherished this condition and married respectable men in increasing numbers; not merely members of the peerage were proud of such alliances. Moreover, the more famous among them

began to be received at Court, to give 'command' performances; to play rôles off the stage as organizers of charitable enterprises; and finally were invited as guests, not as entertainers, to Royal garden parties. The seal of complete respectability was set on the stage as a profession, when Miss Mabel Russell (never a great nor a classical actress, but merely a delightful entertainer of the humorous type), after her marriage and semi-retirement, was elected a Member of Parliament.

The point is this:—While, on the one hand, many actresses sought to emulate respectable women, the 'good' woman began, though very gradually and timorously, to accept the virtuous actress. If, then, argued her own pretty and ambitious daughter, an actress is virtuous enough to marry my brother, a woman of my moral character will not be tainted nor lose caste by adopting the stage as a profession. The argument is a very doubtful one; but, at any rate, girls of such good families as the daughters of the late Canon Barnes took to the stage as a career; and by this time it is so universally accepted as an honourable one, that there is no question of the purity of its morals. Nevertheless, though enormously improved, the morals of the stage were never so impeccable as its industrious white-washers would have us believe. There is no doubt that it played a very great part in destroying the old-fashioned strictness of the British attitude toward feminine morality. It was by no means the only cause of the gradual alteration; but if others had not contributed, we would still see the consequence of its influence in modern feminine fashions. I do not for a moment wish to express an opinion on

these facts; I absolutely decline to be drawn into any controversy about stage morals, which do not interest me in the slightest degree, except in their relationship to the general position of women in the near past and the present. That these morals did and still do to a slight extent differ from narrower middle-class ones, just as the life of a painter differs from that of a mill-hand or a stockbroker, I maintain; and I am also convinced that actresses, backed up by modern journalistic 'boosting' of them, have had a far greater influence on the shaping of the lives of average young Englishwomen than any other so-called Bohemian members of the community had on the moulding of the average man.

The outbreak of the war saw a curious phenomenon. If legitimate motherhood in the past had often been a difficult career, the life of the unlicensed mother had been a calvary. Christianity, while encouraging the wedded wife and mother and condemning prostitution, came down with the utmost savagery on the illegitimate and their unfortunate female parent. The State reinforced its taboo. It is quite obvious that in the Victorian era, prostitution and white slavery, as well as literature, were enriched by this exhibition of Christian charity. If it gave us (to go a little further back for examples) the wonderful tragedy of Gretchen in 'Faust,'[1] the 'Scarlet Letter,'[2] and later, 'Adam Bede,'[3] and 'Tess of the d'Urbervilles,'[4] to mention only a very few classics, the fate of the 'fallen' woman gave *her* little else but a speedy anticipation of hell. These facts are too well known to be emphasized, but they must be mentioned in connection with the emotional

change which altered the situation by practically destroying the appalling vindictiveness with which the mother of the illegitimate child had been pursued until the 'war-baby' made its appearance.

As a matter of fact, illegitimate war babies were afterwards shown to have been negligible in number compared to their luckier brethren, but they were too good a 'story' for the Press to resist. The idealization of their putative fathers—'those brave boys'—served to counterbalance the lapses of their undoubted mothers. The legacy the noble fellow had left behind him must be accepted, but as it is awkward to separate a new-born infant, whatever his social status, from his mother, homes provided for the purpose had to receive both. Her confinement over, the girl must needs work to support her baby. Although it was recognized that to leave the two together was the best way to ensure her future virtue, this was hardly practicable. Again, outside help came to her aid, and while mother earned large wages in the munition factory, baby was well cared for in a beautifully managed nursery for him and his like.

The changed attitude of the ruling class towards illegitimacy was soon demonstrated by the passion for adoption which it suddenly revealed; for a time the demand for blue-eyed baby girls exceeded the supply—according to the Press.

Even before the great pox made its unwelcome appearance in Europe, prostitution could no longer be said to be an altogether safe auxiliary to motherhood. Largely owing to religious and moral fear of the facts of human nature, the problem of venereal infection has

still not been efficiently dealt with on a large scale. That this can be done with considerable success is proved by the figures in the 'Official Medical History of the War'[5] regarding 'official' prostitution in Havre: 'In 1915 the Medical Officer of Health and police authorities in Havre represented that, if a certain street in Havre which had been put out of bounds were open to troops, the prostitutes living in it would follow the advice of the British medical authorities in taking measures to prevent conveyance of infection. The street was put in bounds on these conditions and placed under supervision. Captain Deane's statistics showed that in fifty-seven weeks 171,000 men visited houses in this street, and only 243 stated that they had been infected there. The experience coincides with one of Harrison's during peace, when venereal disease was abolished from a certain station by similar measures.' The street was afterwards again put out of bounds, owing to the pressure of public opinion in England.

The war, however, did more than demonstrate the ability of military organization to grapple with a problem in essence civilian.

Until its outbreak prostitution had remained very largely professional. Although a certain number of 'fallen' girls were forced into it because in those days the first step was considered the most unforgivable, we have a record of other important bearings on the matter besides the purely moral pressure. We have evidence provided by Mr. Bernard Shaw[6] in 'Mrs. Warren's Profession,' written in 1893 (?) but not sanctioned on the English stage until last year. It is no wonder that

the play was so long delayed; for the young Mr. Shaw, with the intolerably 'normal' vision, saw prostitution as an economic problem, and in his representation placed it almost entirely in an economic light. His great argument, his 'J'accuse,' was directed, as he emphasizes in the preface, against the public. 'I must, however, warn my readers, that my attacks are directed against themselves, not against my stage figures. They cannot too thoroughly understand that the guilt of defective social organization does not lie alone on the people who actually work the commercial makeshifts which the defects make inevitable . . . but with the whole body of citizens whose public opinion, public action, and public contribution as ratepayers can alone replace Sartorius's slums with decent dwellings . . . and Mrs. Warren's profession with honourable industries guarded by a humane industrial code and a "moral minimum" wage.'

Mrs. Warren, in pleading her case with her daughter, points out that one of her respectable sisters 'worked in a whitelead factory twelve hours a day for nine shillings a week, until she died of lead poisoning. She only expected to get her hands a little paralysed; but she died. The other was always held up to us as a model, because she married a Government labourer in the Deptford victualling-yard, and kept his room and the three children neat and tidy on eighteen shillings a week—until he took to drink. That was worth being respectable for, wasn't it?"

She herself had begun respectably; at the bar at Waterloo station, 'fourteen hours a day serving drinks and washing glasses for four shillings a week and my board.'

Now although in 1921 or 1922 I myself talked with many barmaids whose wages and conditions of living, especially the food, were appalling, the wages and surroundings of working women have been immeasurably improved within recent years and especially since the war, both in public and domestic service. The commercial ability and relative integrity of a Mrs. Warren are rare; the minority of prostitutes now earn little more than can be gained by an honest hard-working woman; the majority probably less than an energetic girl with initiative and ability. And the first lapse from virtue is now generally condoned, as we have seen. In consequence the economic incentive to a career of prostitution is growing steadily weaker. There is no Trade Union of Prostitutes; there are no legally controlled hours; no one is obliged by law to supply them with so much fresh air per individual or so many 'nights off' per week. Professional prostitution is certain to diminish year by year on economic grounds such as these. But economics enter into a problem closely connected with it, and which had not yet arisen when 'Mrs. Warren's Profession' was published; I call it, mainly on economic grounds, the problem of amateur prostitution.

While mothers—those who 'didn't raise their boy to be a soldier,' and those who did—were becoming appallingly familiar with the tragedy of Niobe, there rose up all around them the social descendants of the nun and the hetaera—the celibate war-worker and the amateur prostitute. The examination of the more or less unsexed and undersexed female type belongs to a later section of this essay, for the evidence, which I hope

to produce, is physiological and psychological in character; here I only note her appearance in a social rôle. The newspapers began to be filled, side by side with pictures of peeresses in delightfully graceful nursing uniform, and actresses appearing at hospital concerts, with photographs of the 'war-working' type of 'woman'—aping the cropped hair, the great booted feet, the grim jaw, the uniform, and if possible the medals, of the military man. If this type had been transitory its usefulness might be accorded, but it is not doubtful, as I propose to show, that in the long run we shall have to regret its social and political influence, much as we may applaud its war-time works.

Let us meanwhile turn to the books, addressed to the mothers of the nation, which first began to appear as the works of that admirable paleo-botanist, Dr. Marie Stopes.

Dr. Stopes in her writings advocates, and in her clinic demonstrates, birth control for married women. Unfortunately one cannot get any evidence as to the 'marriage lines' of the thousands of purchasers of 'Married Love'[7] and its successors. One can only note that while on the one hand the number of war babies was surprisingly small, on the other, insistence on the meritorious aspects of virginity began to be lessened. This disdain for a condition which had previously been considered, among the majority of the population of both sexes, one to be preciously cherished until the wedding night, continued to grow. Popular plays and novels by their success provide an argument for the popular acceptance of their author's views. But the popular author is seldom in advance of his time, particularly on moral questions. It is now only in the

reading matter provided for the most illiterate of the public, and in the melodrama performed before the most unsophisticated audience, that the stainless purity (to use the excellent cliché) of the heroine is still insisted on.

A baby, even a subsidized baby, certainly lessens a girl's chances of marriage, if only on economic grounds; while the absence of a rudimentary membrane is not a similar consequence. So long as books on birth control can be purchased at every railway station, and means to practise it at almost every chemist's, we must as a matter of mere common-sense assume that they will reach those for whom they were not originally intended. We have also to note that since the war the professional prostitute has not only to reckon on a formidable competitor, who generally earns her living at some other occupation, but that there is no longer a single class of women certain to avoid the risk of venereal disease before marriage. The risk of infection may not have been a small one for a long while past, but nevertheless it was far slighter when there were thousands of undoubtedly chaste women whose husbands, before marriage, had led fairly continent lives. While contraceptives are sold enclosed in circulars giving full directions for their use, similar information is not invariably distributed with prophylactics against venereal disease.

Amongst the British troops a careful inquiry in some thousands of cases showed that 'over 60 per cent. of the infections resulted from intercourse with women who were not prostitutes in the ordinary sense of the word, since they received no payment.'[8]

Amateur prostitution seems to be one of the economic consequences of the peace which have not been sufficiently examined. 'War fever,' plus high wages, plus a very much weakened parental supervision of young people, began it; but the fever has not abated, the wages have not been greatly reduced, and the effort at more stringent supervision meets scorn and defiance. The payment of unemployment benefits when the years of deflation came about, caused young girls to reject domestic service and restricted liberty; they could afford to wait for jobs more to their taste, and while waiting need not fear boredom. It was not difficult to purchase the knowledge of the instruments whereby peace babies could be avoided. The total neglect, in the education of all save upper middle-class daughters, of such subjects as might make the home more attractive for them—not merely domestic crafts —the neglect to interest these young girls in literature or music or art, even in such mechanical hobbies as many of their brothers practise, threw and continues to throw them on the dance-hall, the cinema, or the cheap restaurant for their pleasures. Their wages do not suffice to buy more than their board and lodging at home and the finery they consider indispensable; if they did, the remnants of a 'chivalrous' point of view teach them to expect attentions from their young men or 'boys'; the male sex is required to pay the entrance fee to the dancing or the cinema 'palace.' As far as I can see, the girl, if she is fond of the boy or wishes to obtain more treats from him, can reward him as she chooses and as freely as circumstances permit. It is certainly not for the young man to teach her moral

restraint. He will be kept from a professional competitor, but as the figures for the troops prove, he will not necessarily be the better in health for that. In every other respect he may ultimately be the worse.

Finally, one of these girls who has enjoyed a succession of generous 'boys' will marry one of them. I repeat that there is now no longer a single class of women certain to avoid the risk of venereal disease before marriage. But those individuals who may escape it cannot be safeguarded against the psychological diseases of the time; against the craving for stimulants, for excitement, for drugs; against hatred of the home and its responsibilities; against the determination to have no children, or if children do come, against probable indifference to their health and mental development, and the resolve that they shall not cause their young mothers to sacrifie the money previously spent on themselves to infant necessities. We shall see later on how little the modern home has to offer such girls; here we only note how lamentably ill-equipped they are to possess and look after one.

I do not wish to appear a supporter of professional prostitution. But 'if sexual continence is not to be expected of men nowadays, we should not expect it of women either,' say the feminists. I do wish to stand definitely as an opponent of the equal moral standard for men and women constantly preached to-day, if that standard is to be a masculine one; for I believe and hope to prove that biology absolutely forbids such a standard for actual or potential mothers.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER V

Goethe: 'Faust.'
Hawthorne: 'The Scarlet Letter.'
G. Eliot: 'Adam Bede.'
Thomas Hardy: 'Tess of the d'Urbervilles.'
'Official Medical History of the War.'
Bernard Shaw: 'Mrs. Warren's Profession.'
Dr. Marie Stopes: 'Married Love.'
'Official Medical History of the War.'

Chapter 6

THE GOVERNESS AS HEROINE

I wish to see women neither heroines nor brutes but reasonable creatures.

Mary Wollstonecraft.

SUMMARY

1. Sons and daughters of the Church.
2. The profound influence of two governesses, Mary Wollstonecraft and Charlotte Brontë.
3. Development of feminism.
4. Careers for women.
5. Lack of workers in careers connected with the home.
6. The influence of school teachers in girls' choice of careers.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNESS AS HEROINE

I wish to see women neither heroines nor brutes but reasonable creatures.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

The demand for a higher standard of education and greater opportunities to make careers for themselves, was in no class of the community more insistent during the Victorian era than among the daughters of ministers of the Church. While the standard of living among the general population was rapidly rising, the young women of the vicarage were slowly awakening to all that was passing them by.

The theological traditions of the older Public Schools and particularly of the Universities were at that time still powerful. Even if the Church was not an hereditary institution, the sons of its employés were foremost among all those sent to enjoy a 'higher' education. A few years at Oxford or (to a lesser extent) at Cambridge were considered indispensable, not necessarily in order to obtain a degree in divinity, and therefore the classical and scholarly knowledge essential to it, but for the sake of the cultural atmosphere to be found there. This view gradually gained prevalence among the more intelligent, and later the more wealthy

members of the middle classes who, as we have already seen, had plenty of money to spend on it. But the influx into seats of learning hitherto mainly designed for 'poor scholars' of young men who were neither poor nor scholars, inevitably raised the standard of living with alarming speed. The vicarage, where social snobbery and the 'keeping up of appearances' have always been peculiarly cherished, was, therefore, hard put to it to equip its sons for this strenuous form of economic competition. Mothers and sisters were forced to make unrewarded but none the less heroic sacrifices for sons and brothers. Inevitably, in certain clerical homes, the daughters showed ability as great as, if not greater than, that of the sons; the girls, in the country especially, were often instructed by their fathers in subjects such as Latin and Greek, which the less supine of the clergy were unwilling to abandon and which they had no other opportunity to practise. But in the case of the daughters, such 'accomplishments' were of little use. The more intelligent the girl, the more bitter probably were the comparisons she drew between her own intellectual powers and those of her brothers. Tragical conflicts were aroused in her, and 'complexes' were formed which were in due course to contribute no small quota to a slowly developing sex antagonism.

But long before the Victorian era at least one intelligent woman had laid bare the unfairness and hopelessness of her own position.

'Feminism' had its origin in a phenomenon which, as far as I know, is peculiarly English, the fact that the two women who most influenced the

earlier feminist movement—though in somewhat different ways—both began life as governesses, and on later winning literary fame, brought the Governess as Heroine into English life and letters. I mean, of course, Mary Wollstonecraft[1] and Charlotte Brontë.[2]

Mary was a pioneer both in life and letters. She was a friend of Tom Paine, and became the wife of Godwin. Though she was a Deist, she cannot in any sense be described as a 'true Christian.' She lived with at least two men without considering it necessary to be married to them, and had one illegitimate daughter. These facts are interesting, because she was mistress, wife, and mother. But she was governess first, and the point of view of the delightfully touching 'Vindication of the Rights of Woman' is that of an intelligent, independent, sexually normal and mentally superior woman, who had been forced to earn her living in one of the most unpleasant occupations ever invented.

'The Rights of Woman' was written by a governess not only unhappy, rebellious and ambitious, but by one who was a keen observer, and would, if she had lived a hundred and twenty years later, have been at least a brilliant journalist. Moreover, Mary's anger and contempt were not so much directed against the silly women among whom she found herself, as against the men who would have them so. One of the evils of monogamy in a Christian state in which the home alone could provide careers for women was the utter and general indifference of society to girls who should have married and borne children, but whose miserable economic conditions made it impossible

for them to secure husbands. They could become companions to richer women, they could teach at school, they could sew or become governesses; only a very few of them had the ability to win their way in the arts or literature. 'Genteel' birth was an asset to the governess; but as it was often her only one, and as she was generally underfed, dressed in other women's discarded clothes, and bullied by mistresses and pupils alike, it was poor compensation.

The daughters of the parsonage were the mainstay of the 'governessing' class. One can imagine with what passion, a hundred years after it was written, the 'Vindication' was rediscovered by the governesses of England, who had every justification, from their point of view, for becoming rampant feminists.

Charlotte Brontë was less keenly critical, more imaginative, less rational and more emotional, than Mary. She was a spinster until a year before her death, at the age of thirty-nine. It is difficult to believe that her late marriage brought her the quality of love she longed for—love such as Rochester's for Jane. She is said to have felt a passionate love for M. Heger; whether the statement is completely, partly, or not at all true, hardly matters. It is obvious that she could have felt love profoundly; that she was potentially, if not in fact, one of the world's great lovers. Occasionally other spinsters with unfulfilled longings take to drink or religion. Charlotte and her sisters were fortunate—they could take to novel-writing. No one but a writer perhaps can estimate what enormous consolation Charlotte must have got out of writing 'Jane Eyre.' The coolly professional

littérateur chiefly preoccupied with 'situations,' 'characters,' and the delicate details of style, will also recognize the fact that Charlotte Brontë, though in her way a great artist, was not an artist who mainly concentrated on the perfect presentation of her story. She had something to 'get off her chest,' she had her feelings to relieve, feelings all the more vehement because she was not beautiful and yet was brave enough to recognize the power of beauty to win love; because she was intelligent and to some degree critical, and had used her inconspicuous position, as Mary Wollstonecraft had used hers, to examine closely the behaviour of her more fortunate 'superiors.' She received several offers of marriage—but it was love she wanted.

'I used to think,' she wrote, 'that I should like to be in the stir of grand folk's society; but I have had enough of it—it is dreary work to look on and listen. I see more clearly than I have ever done before, that a private governess has no existence, is not considered as a living, rational being, except as connected with the wearisome duties she has to fulfil.'[3] It must have been even worse in the nineteenth than in the eighteenth century.

Mary had been governess to the children of a brilliant and wealthy Irish peeress, and whatever her grievances, she was to some extent allowed to join in the social life of the house; to go to the costume balls in Dublin in her employer's party. Charlotte's letter was written when she was in the pay of a rich Yorkshire manufacturer; and from what we know of the type to-day, we can perhaps assume that her situation offered little charm to a woman of intellect, nor to the small amount

of compensation available to a governess who at least serves in a family of culture, and lives in surroundings which cannot help having acquired a certain beauty and dignity in the course of time.

When we remember that governesses are—or then were—a large regiment; that they were mostly very well aware of the pathos and hopelessness of their situation, Charlotte's daring in actually making a woman of her class, with no more beauty of features and form than herself, the heroine of a novel—the winner of such a substantial matrimonial prize as Rochester (even though maimed)—strikes one as a magnificent gesture. I love the story of her discussion with her sisters that led to the writing of 'Jane Eyre.' 'She declared that they were wrong—even morally wrong—in making their heroines beautiful as a matter of course. They replied that it was impossible to make a heroine interesting on any other terms.' Her answer is well known. 'I will prove to you,' she said, 'that you are wrong: I will show you a heroine as plain and as small as myself, who shall be as interesting as yours. Hence "Jane Eyre,"' said she, in telling the anecdote; 'but she is not myself any further than that.'[4] It seems unnecessary to go further.

We have to remember that the revolt of the daughters of the parsonage, which became articulate in 'Jane Eyre,' was gathering force at a period when the ruling classes believed themselves—as Wilhelm II. later believed himself—to be representing God's sociological views. 'Jane Eyre' from this point of view was not merely impertinent, it was positively revolutionary.

This is what a contemporary woman of title wrote of it:

'Altogether the autobiography of *Jane Eyre* is pre-eminently an anti-Christian composition. There is throughout it a murmuring against the comforts of the rich and against the privations of the poor, which, as far as each individual is concerned, is a murmuring against God's appointment; there is that pervading tone of ungodly discontent which is at once the most prominent and the most subtle evil which the law and the pulpit, which all civilized society, in fact, has at the present day to contend with. We do not hesitate to say that the tone of mind and thought, which has overthrown authority abroad and fostered Chartism and rebellion at home, is the same which has also written *Jane Eyre*.'[5]

I think that to 'Jane Eyre' as much as to the 'Vindication' must be traced the revolt of the governess type; the type which, until recently, was imagined on the Continent of Europe and in the United States, to be that of all English women; the type which later gave its idealism, its courage, its energy, and its money to the Suffragette movement. (Lest any one accuse me of bias, let me here confess that at eighteen I myself joined the Women's Social and Political Union, and sold its weekly paper—my first venture in journalism—on Hampstead Heath.)

Wider sympathies need not, in my opinion, preclude narrower ones. If, as I shall try in a later chapter to show, the spinster has won her present recognition largely at the expense of the potential or actual mother, if, as things stand at present, her growing economic and

political status constitutes a definite menace to the future of motherhood, I do not wish it to be assumed that I would deny her all the rights she has won by such hard labour. Destructive criticism is valueless if it is not followed by constructive proposals. Those I hope to make. But first let us see what the working spinster of the middle classes has won for herself.

Roughly, one may say that the manual working woman has no career open to her outside the home but the factory. The shop and the office (by which I mean supervised and directed secretarial work of all kinds) provide alternatives for girls of a slightly more refined or bookish education. For those of still higher abilities the schools and hospitals offer the professions of teaching and nursing.*

It occurred to me that it would be interesting to obtain some evidence for this chapter regarding the so-called advance of women into careers less specifically open to them. I therefore addressed a questionnaire to about thirty institutions and organizations connected with various professions, and existing for the purpose of furthering and protecting the interests of those engaged in them. The number of these is, of course, incomplete. The list purports to be a mere sample from which, nevertheless, some interesting facts can be ascertained.

Perhaps the first point to be considered with reference to the following table is the proportion of women members to the men. The total number of men belonging to the institutions which sent in complete

*The last, however, offers the worst conditions, from the point of view of hours and salaries.

returns is 107,705. The total number of women, married and single, is 3,622. There are, in addition, 9 women actuaries. The proportion of women

INSTITUTE.	TOTAL MEMBER-SHIP.	WOMEN MEMBERS.	M.	S.	DATE OF ADMISSION OF FIRST WOMAN MEMBER.
Actuaries . . .	—	9	1	8	1923
British Architects .	5,949	21	?	?	1898
Chartered Accountants	7,458	10	—	10	May 1920
Chemistry . . .	5,186	165	27	138	1892
Chemical Society .	4,101	84	6	78	2nd Dec. 1920
Chemical Engineers	414	None	—	—	—
Civil Engineers .	9,936	2	?	?	13th Jan. 1925
Cost & Works—approx.	1,200	3	2	1	Mar. 1920
Dental Association.	3,501	82	20	62	1895
Gas Engineers . .	1,091	None	—	—	—
Heating and Ventilating Engineers	595	1 Hon.	1	—	1925
Ind. Psychology .	980 abt.	140 abt.	30	110	1921
Ind. Welfare Workers	278	264	9	255	1913
Law Society . .	10,000 abt.	52	5	47	Dec. 1922
Marine Engineers .	3,050	2	—	2	Oct. 1921
Mechanical do. .	10,040	1	?	?	22nd Feb. 1924
Medical Association	32,010	2,580	?	?	1875
Metals	1,801	9	2	7	21st Dec. 1916
Ophthalmic Opticians	1,800	12 abt.	4	8	July 1905
Public Administration	2,631	177	7	170	7th Sept. 1922
Structural Engineers	3,150	2	2	—	1922
Transport . . .	2,534	6	—	6	14th June 1922
	107,705	3,622+9	116	902	

engaged in the professions tabulated is strikingly small. But this tiny minority is largely explained when we come to the dates of admission of women members to the societies in question. We then find

that in only six cases were they admitted before the war of 1914-1918. The woman doctor (1875) came first. She was followed, seventeen years later, by the woman Fellow of the Institute of Chemistry. Three years later the first woman dentist appeared, succeeded, after three more years, by the woman architect. And then we have a long gap (partly, no doubt, exaggerated, owing to the incompleteness of the list), until the arrival, in 1905, of the ophthalmic optician, and, in the year before the war, of the woman industrial welfare worker. During the war itself the Institute of Metals shows the admission of its first woman member. The other Institutes listed have all opened their doors to women since 1920.

Nevertheless, the feminine membership of the newer professions does not seem to have been increasing very rapidly during the past seven years. Undoubtedly in many cases the adoption of the profession in question by one or two women was largely experimental. It was necessary to find out, first whether women could qualify for it, and secondly whether, having qualified, they were likely to make a success of it.

The figures showing the proportion of single to married women members were difficult to obtain. In several cases, as the table shows, no definite replies were given. But such evidence as that from the Law Society is striking—47 single, 5 married, women members. The industrial welfare workers show 255 single, 9 married. The highest proportion of married to single workers is shown in the dental profession: 20 married to 62 single.

I was particularly interested in the entry of women into the engineering professions. The widespread and notorious inadequacy of the average home with regard to heating, lighting, and water facilities made me eager to ascertain what number of women were directing their attention to these problems. The total number of women members of the Engineering Institutes in the list is 8, including two women marine engineers. The Institute of Plumbers, however, has not one woman member! I am informed by the secretary that, 'As regards operative plumbers, I can say quite definitely that no women practise the craft or have served an apprenticeship to it.'

The choice of a career is a matter of individual decision, but it would be ridiculous to pretend that the educator of girls has no influence on their subsequent inclinations to a profession. We shall study later on some of the direct psychological influences of almost exclusively spinster teaching of middle-class girls. Here let us note that while the Law Society, since 1922, has admitted 52 women members (and I believe that law is annually claiming larger and larger numbers of women apprentices), all the engineering professions between them have produced about 8. The range of activities represented in the list shows that a woman desirous of a career has a wide choice. Medicine, dentistry, and law do not make easy claims on the student; in the first of these the standard is yearly getting more and more severe, and the period of learning is tending to lengthen. Certainly the medical profession as a career for women has a tradition going right back, through nursing, to the convent. The

convent seems to have had an influence to which that of the home cannot possibly be compared.

It is obvious that among the spinster women employed in the various professions, all will not marry. But if the development of feminine activities had been proceeding in a manner favourable to the development of the potential wife and mother, or of a type of woman keenly interested in the crafts and applied sciences connected with domestic life, it would surely have been revealed by such a table as I have given.

'The Home' cannot merely be defined as the place we live in. It includes the people we live with. The relationships concerned are mainly sexual and psychological, and therefore their consideration is at present postponed. But so long as a private, as opposed to a communal, dwelling, continues to house individuals either singly or in small family groups, an interest in its structural organization must persist if the institution is not to alter unrecognizably or to decay. Profound alterations, definite signs of decay, some pessimists declare, are at present appearing in the home. The private home does still lack the applied fruits of scientific research on a really practical scale, while the asylum, the prison, the hospital enjoy them. For the various structural, heating, and lighting problems of the small home to be solved, we need the most intensive study and experimentation. The questions raised are largely technical and demand a professional attitude. The average mother cannot deal with the diseases of her children without the help of the professional physician. The average inmate of a home cannot remedy its technical diseases without equally skilled

advice; in fact, they are often irremediable if the various specific problems have not been anticipated and worked out before the actual building has begun.

The reform of the home, as far as it is a housing question, calls insistently for such study and skilled treatment as a woman trained with this one end in view would be peculiarly fitted to give. Here at last we find ground on which the woman competing with a man of similar intellectual and practical ability would be really able to hold her own. But we find little evidence that the type of woman wanted is being produced, and perhaps we shall not find this so surprising, when we consider the kind of woman entrusted with the education of young girls, and with whom generally lies the privilege and the responsibility of advising them with regard to their future careers.

Mary Wollstonecraft: 'A Vindication of the Rights of Women.'
Charlotte Brontë: 'Jane Eyre.'
Mrs. Gaskell: 'Charlotte Brontë.'
" Ibid.
Lady Eastlake: Quarterly Review, Dec. 1848 (quoted from 'Trollope,' a Commentary, by Michael Sadlier).

PART I

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

OF PART I

The rough historical outline has now been brought up to date. The investigation of present-day conditions of motherhood will be continued in the succeeding chapters. It is not possible here to separate history from psychology and biology generally. The questions to be raised can only be answered —although in any case they cannot yet be answered fully—after investigating evidence supplied by biological science. The problem of birth control, for example, which historically should concern us now, must be postponed until the scientific evidence has been considered. The term 'birth control' refers in a restricted sense to measures that can be taken by the individual woman to limit her family. But it is too narrow a term. What we are faced with is the immense and extremely complex population problem, of which modern voluntary birth control by mechanical devices is a recent development. It is, as I hope to show, by divorcing this part from the whole, that most writers on the subject, including especially propagandists, have made their gravest mistake. I think that birth control can only be usefully examined when we have traversed much more ground, and I therefore propose to leave it to a later chapter, when we can review its

narrower aspects in relation to the whole problem of modern motherhood.

In the meantime, before going on to the psychological section of this book, I will briefly recapitulate the evidence regarding the position of mothers in former times. While I have tried to include at least a reference to all the relevant points, I am aware of the inadequacy of my review. The task of dealing with historical evidence of this kind thoroughly would demand at least one volume, at most, or many books devoted to it alone. But because I believe that history and psychology must go hand in hand if we look to them for enlightenment regarding the position of women and particularly of mothers, I have preferred a superficial examination which may perhaps have the advantage of unity to a deep but narrow study of each field separately.

We have seen that while the mothers carried on the race as well as they could, according to the circumstances of their time, each period brought with it problems of its own. Institutions such as empires and churches have arisen and have influenced the situation of the women as well as of the men over whom they reigned. We began in the pastoral era of the ancient Jews. We saw what must appear to us nowadays as their comparative licentiousness, or a primitive freedom from the rule of complicated moral and hygienic systems until Moses imposed his codes on them. We have watched the women's harem-like existence, considerably lightened by the institution of slavery. We have seen this same existence and this co-operating institution as they were developed in ancient

Greece, with the rise to eminence, in towns such as Athens, of a class of exalted prostitutes. In Rome, under the Empire, we observed the deterioration of respectable women's morals, the advance of luxury and corruption, the development of slavery and the abasement of the prostitute class.

Christianity introduced us to Mary worship and the conditions of early Christian and medieval Europe; we watched the development of the female celibate orders founded by this religion, and of the feudal system, whereby the numbers of potential mothers were reduced, and the poorer classes were discouraged from early marriage. We saw home industry and child labour coming into being, and could study the consequences to women and little children of the prevalent economic conditions. We could watch the development from the beginning of the middle-class revolution which, aided by the industrial one, was able to raise the general standard of living for the whole continent. We saw the middle-class women learning social and economic ambition; and towards the end of the nineteenth century, in spite of the Victorian example, we noted the decline in the birth-rate, the gradual lessening of incentives to maternity. With growing independence for all, educated women begin to demand more personal freedom; feminine celibacy is no longer confined to nunneries; the governess, unloved, poor, despised, underpaid, insists on her 'rights,' and begins to leave her unremunerative field for others more fertile. The factory swallows larger and larger numbers of former domestic servants; the stage imposes its morals to some extent, and its fashions

still more, on respectable women; professional prostitution is decried and reproved, but continues to exist unchecked. Finally, the war beats down all the former barriers to woman's freedom; brings forward new successors to the nun and the prostitute in the war-worker and the non-professional light-o'-love; and the economic conditions following it render the tasks of the mother more and more difficult, and the position of the home less and less secure. Birth control, by means of a biological invention easy of application, is advocated in many countries.

This brief recapitulation suggests to me—possibly to me alone—that in primitive civilizations, although individual women may have been unhappy and oppressed, motherhood was more fortunately placed than in their successors. As the only career for a free and honest woman it was to some extent subsidized by slavery. Its duties could be fulfilled in ample leisure, and were considered of paramount importance; this importance being not merely recognized in words, but provided for by deeds. While many women suffered slavery and prostitution (though the latter was comparatively voluntary trade), many others benefited to the ultimate advantage of the race. The introduction of Christianity, with its praise of the celibate and the mother of God, but its injustices to the mothers of men; the abolition of slavery; the competition of home and factory industry; the raising of the general standard of living, and the widening of the horizon; all these factors led to an exaggerated sentimental adulation of motherhood with an increasing unwillingness on the part of young women to perform its duties.

But this historical argument does not seem to me enough. To learn in detail how mothers fare, we want to study the mothers themselves. To appreciate woman's attitude to the one business for which she was especially fashioned, we have to study her mind and the influences which go to its making; we need, moreover, accurate information; observation, research, and experiments on females in the whole animal kingdom; the knowledge to be gained from genetics, pathology, and psychology, which is of an entirely different kind from that offered by history, and has until quite recently never been available in the investigation of such a problem. We want, not a recapitulation of biological arguments or descriptions, such as can be found in any text-books, but the valuable *points,* the facts, which bear directly or indirectly on the problem of motherhood. These I now propose to seek.

PART II

Chapter 7

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

Souvent femme varie, fol est qui s'y fie.

SUMMARY

1. Instincts of birds, mammals, etc.
2. Chromosome sex determination.
3. Sexual abnormality.
4. Intersexuality; importance of biology for the study of social conditions.
5. Female psychology.
6. Various types.
7. The home and the school; lack of racial policy in education of girls.

PART II

CHAPTER VII

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

Souvent femme varie, fol est qui s'y fie.

In a discussion of problems of sex, before one comes to psychology it is necessary to consider the present state of knowledge, including evidence on abnormality, from the genetical and anatomical points of view. The work that has been done in these fields is almost entirely quite recent work and an immense number of facts have still to be investigated and cleared up. It is easy enough to talk about sexual psychology, but on what actual processes does it rest? Such psychology, apart from the very simplest kind, is almost entirely human, yet it is precisely when we come to mankind that the ordinary scientific method of finding things out, the experimental method, is impossible.

Among insects, as has been shown by Goldschmidt[1] and others, a very large number of deviations from the normal type either exist or can be produced by experimental breeding. For animals diverging more or less from the 'absolutely' male or female sex, Goldschmidt has devised the expression 'Intersexes.' In the moth

Lymantria dispar he obtained by crossing different local races a series of female intersexes numbering ten forms, beginning with a slight degree of such intersexuality and culminating in a functionally male type.

In other animals, such as crustacea, birds, and mammals, partial or complete sex reversal may be caused by disease, castration, late fertilization, crosses of different races or species, or, as in the case of the bovine freemartin, by the disturbing effects of the hermones of a twin of the opposite sex before birth.[2]

The problem of sexual abnormality in human beings is at least being investigated scientifically, and within the next fifty years it will no doubt have been cleared up. Genetics and physiology between them will bring the solution. The study of Mendelian inheritance has shown that sex is determined in man by certain chromosomes, microscopic bodies contained in the male and female gametes. In order to explain these technical terms as clearly as possible, I will quote a brief description of chromosome behaviour from 'Evolution, Heredity and Variation,' a popular manual by Mr. G. Ward Cutler.[3]

'The behaviour of the chromosomes during the reduction division shows that in the body cells they should be found in equal numbers, for the possibility of being reduced by pairing demands an even number. About twenty-five years ago, however, the extraordinary discovery was made, that in the cells of certain insects there was an odd number of chromosomes. It is now known that where this occurs it is usually in the male sex, and that the number is often one less than in the female. Thus if the latter has six

chromosomes in the body cells, the former nas only five. An irregularity is, therefore, introduced into the pairing of the chromosomes during the formation of the germ cells. In the male, during the reduction stage, all the chromosomes pair except one which has no mate. This, the X chromosome as it is called, passes into one of the daughter cells. At the next division every chromosome divides into two, the products of the division passing into the germ cells so produced. Thus there are formed two kinds of male germ cells in equal numbers, one kind containing the X chromosome, the other lacking it. The first type has three chromosomes and the second only two. In the female, on the other hand, the mate to the odd chromosome of the male is present; she possesses XX chromosomes. Therefore, during the formation of the egg the chromosomes pair and the resulting cells all have an X chromosome. The chromosome number is therefore three!

'It is evident that at fertilization the egg may be fertilized by a germ cell carrying an X chromosome, or by one lacking it. In the first case the fertilized egg will possess six chromosomes, and in the second case five. And since females are characterized by having six chromosomes and males by having five, it is evident that a sperm with an X chromosome is a female determiner, whilst one without it is a male determiner.

'It must not be supposed that this simple explanation of sex determination is the complete one; as our knowledge increases, it becomes more and more evident that this basic property of life is bound up with many different agencies, but the chromosome differences are

certainly of fundamental importance. Various conditions may alter their action; they may themselves vary in power or be affected by external conditions, with the result that abnormal individuals, intermediate between male and female, may appear. Also it has been found that in vertebrates the sex chromosomes cease to act after the formation of the sex glands, which, by pouring into the body a secretion, continue the task of sex determination. Because of this, removal of the reproductive tissue in such animals exerts a profound importance.'

The action of these sex glands, known technically as the gonads, becomes marked at puberty, and in human beings we can see their influence in causing what are called the secondary sexual characteristics to appear. In certain cases the gonads do not function normally, with the result that in such individuals this secondary sexual development may not take place, or, if it does so, it approximates on a scale comparable to the scale arranged by Goldschmidt for moths, to that of the opposite sex. Definite evidence has been obtained by Weil[4] that certain anatomical characters, such as the proportionate length of the upper to the lower half of the body and the proportions of shoulder width to pelvis and hip width are normally different in men and women. Weil measured these proportions in eighty normal people of both sexes, and compared them with the measurements of eighty individuals showing more or less marked psychological tendencies towards homosexuality. The results showed that individuals could be ordered anatomically as follows: normal men, homosexual men, homosexual women,

normal women. 'In 95 per cent. of cases investigated,' says Weil, 'homosexuality is present as a change in instinctive direction caused by endocrine activity.'

Disease of the gonads can cause a person of hitherto normal sexual type to become abnormal. Goldschmidt and Lipschütz[5] and others have shown that removal of a diseased gonad may cause the homosexual symptoms to disappear. At present intensive studies are being made of various endocrine secretions. In a paper on 'Physiological, Chemical, and Clinical Studies on Pituitary Principles,' Professor Abel[6] writes: 'It may be questioned if there is a single branch of the medical art that has remained uninfluenced by the discovery of the functions of endocrine organs. Only the other day my colleague Professor Meyer, the psychologist, was commenting to me on the enormous significance of the abnormalities of one or more of the structures as affecting the behaviour response of his patients towards their environment. At the time of our conversation, an autopsy had been made upon a young woman, a homosexual pervert, who had committed suicide. The sexual organs, particularly the uterus, were very poorly developed, and the suprarenal glands were among the smallest ever encountered in our autopsy rooms. The influence of the endocrine organs, more especially the gonads, on the psychic response of an individual to his environment appears to be generally admitted. Their influence on our physical make-up is also beyond question. The thyroid gland is especially important among these organs, because of its extraordinary influence in intra-uterine life on both mind and body. Taking the two things together, that is to say, the influence of

endocrine glands on both mental and somatic processes, it is not surprising that many see in the action and interaction of these organs, in their greater or lesser activity, in their influence on heredity, and in the assumed relations that subsist between some of them and the autonomic (sympathetic plus para-sympathetic) nervous system, a full explanation for the differences in mind and body that exist between any two individuals taken at random from among the millions of any given race.'

In a review of sex-determination and related problems Professor J. S. Huxley[7] writes:—

'It appears highly probable that a considerable percentage of sexual abnormalities in man are pseudo-intersexes of the type just described—viz. genetic males with delayed production of testicular hormone, brought up as females owing to the appearance of the genitalia at birth, but developing male instincts and sometimes male secondary sexual characters at puberty.' (Neugebauere; see also Schmincke and Romeis, Jordan, Goldschmidt, Bell.)

'However, many other types obviously exist. A very important fact is that the *large majority* even of individuals whose sexual abnormality is confined to their instincts—homosexuals, both male and female, without malformation of genitalia—belong to a physical type which is distinct from that of either normal male or normal female (Weil). This of course implies that in them the abnormality is of *genetic* and not of psychological origin, and would therefore not be expected to respond to, *e.g.*, psycho-analytic treatment. In this connexion it is of interest to note

that Steinach and Lichtenstein have recorded that they have cured homosexual men, by removing their testes and engrafting in their places testes from a cryptorchid with normal instincts. This interesting finding demands confirmation, but would not conflict with our present knowledge. A further important fact is the frequency of hyperplasia of the adrenal cortex in human intersexuality (Vincent, Glynn). The exact meaning of this is not clear, but it provides further confirmation of the connexion between adrenal cortex and sex, and suggests a line for future work.

'A possibility worth exploring is that suggested by Goldschmidt, viz. that conditions, such as unbalanced sex-determining factors, which in an insect would result in consecutive intersexuality, might well in a mammal cause the formation of a gonad with a secretion intermediate between male and female. The experiments of Moore, Steinach, Sand, and others have at least shown that there is no antagonism, as was at first supposed, between the male and female gonads or their secretions, both gonads being able to grow, and both secretions to circulate and exert their effect, in a normally bisexual animal's body.

'Although the majority of homosexuals are sexually abnormal in instincts only, masculine or feminine erotization being apparently the most easily affected secondary sexual character, numerous cases are on record where the general characteristics of the body and the special secondary sexual characters are modified to a greater or lesser degree towards the opposite sex.

'Hereditary transmission of physical intersexuality has been demonstrated, as was to be expected, when

proper analysis has been made (Neugebauer, Goldschmidt).

'If we believe that the ideas derived from Goldschmidt's moths can hold in any considerable proportion of human intersexuality, we should expect to find men much more prone to these abnormalities than women, because they are the heterogametic sex. This actually appears to be the case (Neugebauer, Goldschmidt).

'Some practical and theoretical consequences of the above facts and theories may be mentioned:—

'(1) It is possible to distinguish between *zygotic* or *chromosomal sex*—that which is characteristic of the particular chromosome-constitution of the fertilized egg—and *functional* or *somatic sex*—that of the adult organism. The two are different in cases of sex-reversal.

'(2) Intersexuality of various types and of all degrees, affecting physical or psychical characters or both, is well known in many groups of animals. The intersex is neither male nor female, but definitely intermediate in certain characters.

'(3) It is therefore a mere legal fiction to label true human intersexes as necessarily either male or female. They do in point of fact belong, if not to a "third sex," at least to a *third sexual category*. Their behaviour as well as their structure is determined by forces beyond their control, and they cannot logically be expected to conform to normal male or to normal female behaviour any more than a woman can be expected to behave like a man or vice versa.

'(5) It is important that sexual abnormality of

psychological (somatic) origin should be distinguished from that of genetic origin, and that the latter should, if possible, be analysed into its various types.'

These biological facts would not in themselves need quotation in an essay of this kind, if their social influence had previously been more fully admitted, particularly in its bearings on the destiny of normal people. Moreover all social custom, all laws, all political movements which have recently sprung up, have assumed, for want of scientific evidence or for lack of understanding of it, that all women were equally female; and that the interests, both domestic and public, of all women were identical. I do not believe this to be the case. It is necessary to produce evidence, as I have done, showing that abnormality, whether anatomical or psychological, is prevalent in both sexes, and after doing so to study the sexual psychology of abnormal or sub-normal women, in order to find out what part they play in civilization, and particularly to examine their social activity in relation to that of normal women. I believe that a conflict between the interests of these types and the interests of the mothers not only exists, but that owing to ignorance or propaganda it has so far been overlooked. In regarding these women as normals, and particularly in giving them political rights, modern society is encouraging them to put forward their programmes as those of all womanhood, and I think we may easily find herein one reason for the present and progressive dislike for the home, 'womanly' occupations, and motherhood.

In my opinion one can discern to-day the following types of female psychology: there is the ordinary

normal woman who, on attaining maturity, mates and bears children. There is the fundamentally normal type, who for some reason fails to mate or to bear, and in whom the frustrated instincts seek satisfaction in a less straightforward manner. There is the woman unwilling to bear children, largely a product of civilization, who, whether she be deified or prostituted, is prepared to gratify masculine desires, provided she may avoid child-bearing and may cultivate or express her own 'personality.' There is the amateur prostitute. We have also to remember the very large number of women who, owing to the present organization of society, play an increasing part in it, and who, through ill-health or under-nourishment chiefly caused by their economic situation, have failed to develop a normal sex-life. Finally, there are the women whose psychology is in greater or lesser degree masculine, and in whom there is a strong latent or expressed antagonism to the prescribed activities of femininity.

The normal woman is the subject of this book. In the past the economic situation has often made life difficult for her. All men theoretically approve of her; many have idealized her; but hitherto very little has been done for her directly as mother. We shall see presently that birth control now comes to her aid in a very significant manner.

The best female saints have been drawn from the second type—the normal woman to whom a normal sex-life has been denied. Such women have hitherto mainly sublimated their sexual instincts in religion. I remember meeting one of these—one of the very best—in the famous Foundling Hospital at Florence.

She was a nun in charge of a crêche containing about forty infants. It was their feeding-time, and, as she went about her duties, it was plain to see that she had found compensation. Such women have in the past been of incalculable help to the over-burdened mothers of the poor, and the children whom nobody wanted. But in many others sublimation has taken a different path. One thinks of the 'brides of Christ'—of Marguerite Marie Alacoque, foundress of the worship of the Sacred Heart, so admirably analysed by Leuba[8] in the 'Psychology of Religious Mysticism.' 'The case of St. Marguerite Marie is also quite clear,' he says. 'She was somewhat inclined to marry and would, it seems, have done so had she not bartered away her freedom when a mere child. Repeatedly she had vowed to keep herself a virgin for Christ's sake, and she had early tasted the incomparable sensuous delight with which He rewards some of those that give themselves to Him. There is something clearly morbid in her relation with Christ, both with regard to love and to the fear of His wrath should she break her vows of virginity.

'Not one of the prominent representatives of mysticism lived a normal married life. The kind of love bestowed by them upon God and Christ is apparently incompatible with normal conjugal relations. Anticipating a later section we may say already now that many of the curious phenomena to which most great mystics owe in part their fame or notoriety are due to perturbations of the sex function consequent upon repression.'

Any one who has seen the painting in St. Peter's,

Rome, depicting the revelation of the Sacret Heart to Marguerite Marie, will be hard put to it to refute Leuba's argument.

Owing to a differential survival rate slightly favouring females (although more males are born and probably conceived), we must for a time resign ourselves to a surplus feminine population, which will be further increased by wars and masculine emigration. The opening of careers and of industrial employment to unmated women is a necessity. Nevertheless by the fact that they will not mate and bear children, they will be differentiated from the normal female population. Their sexual life will not become extinct just because a normal gratification is denied them; it may be controlled or canalized in generalized maternal attitudes; it may supply a maternal motive in public life. In this case it will not conflict with the interests of mothers and wives. But these women will by the nature of their pursuits enter public life as competitors with men; they will demand (and have demanded) equality of terms on which both are employed; they demand and obtain now unemployment benefits and old-age pensions. Obviously equal economic treatment cannot be denied them; by their votes they will obtain it through political channels if others are blocked. However, there is no preferential treatment in industry for parents; in some cases mothers are debarred from supplementing the fathers' income by professional work. Money spent on celibates, public money, such as provides 'doles' and old-age pensions, cannot be used for subsidizing motherhood. Here we are not considering the desirability of supporting one class of

women as against another: we only recognize the fact that economically their interests conflict. Moreover, such women do not refrain from propaganda towards young married women. I know of at least one actual case where a woman worker who decided to resign her employment in order to become pregnant, was made to 'feel her position keenly'; she was regarded and made aware of being regarded as a renegade and a traitor to her sex. It may be urged that this was an absurd and a rare case; but only statistical evidence could prove it to be so. In its absence I do not regard this case as having no symptomatic value.

The sub-normal is a type chiefly prevalent among celibate women. They tend, for instance, to enjoy a less rich and varied diet than married women, partly, no doubt, through inexperience as housekeepers. That diet plays a great part in general health is now axiomatic; biochemistry has also shown that certain accessory food-factors, the so-called vitamins, are required to keep the condition of mind and body up to a normal level.* It must be remembered that all save religious women vowed to celibate orders may at any time marry. Among those who do so late in life years of insufficient diet may cause sterility. 'Oestrus appears to be particularly sensitive to vitamin A deficiency. . . . In many metabolic experiments the sensitivity of oestrus to nutritional disturbances appears very clearly, showing delay, irregularity or disappearance with even slight variations. . . . The restriction of diet may be quantitative or qualitative, as shown by

*There has recently been discovered a specific vitamin connected with reproduction.

Slonaker and Card, who found that a diet similar to the vegetarian régime adopted occasionally by man, caused a delay of pubescence in the rat and increased the incidence of infertility four times. . . .

'An interesting possibility suggests itself, namely, the relationship of diet to "war sterility." Several Continental workers have observed the special occurrence of amenorrhea and sterility during and after the World War, and also an increased incidence of exophthalmic goitre, with accompanying diminution in the size of the uterus. . . . In any case the condition was worst in Germany and Austria, where the food supplies were also the most unfavourable.'[9]

A parallel which is perhaps permissible here by way of illustration is the case of bees. As is well known, the fertile queens and the sterile workers who arise from exactly the same type of egg as the queen, are fed, as larvae, on different diets, that of the queen being richer than the food given to her subjects, and augmented by the so-called 'royal jelly,' consisting of a glandular secretion produced by the nurses, and mixed by them with the honey and pollen fed to her.

A female type of whom, as far as I know, no authoritative psychological study has been made, must now be considered. She approximates, perhaps as closely as any modern woman can, to the 'Companion' of ancient Greece. The more intelligent women of this class are absorbed by the interpretative arts. In music, the drama, or on the film they are successful and valuable. But others who possess beauty do not need intellectual gifts. They find men willing to support

them either in or out of wedlock. All, however, traffic in their appearance, competing with prostitutes for male favours, always on the understanding that they shall not be requested to reproduce. The minds of such women have yet to be examined from the modern psychological point of view, but, as the late Sir F. Mott once pointed out to me, the novelist has anticipated the psychologist in this field, especially the French novelist. Flaubert's[10] 'Madame Bovary' is a classic study of this kind. At present it is difficult to explain social tolerance of these female parasites on any other hypothesis than that there is an economic demand for them; but changing economic conditions may alter their position in future.

Economically the amateur prostitute of the masses is in a different position from such women, who live entirely on what they obtain from lovers or husbands. They are in fact, whether outwardly respectable and married or not, the higher members of the old professional prostitute class. The amateur is distinguished from them by the fact that she earns her living, while unmarried, or when married while unencumbered with children, in factory or office. With her the lure to the streets is not essentially economic but psychological.

The middle-class girl between the ages of fourteen and nineteen—or longer if she goes to College—is carefully segregated in boarding-school from contact with the other sex. There is no evidence that maternal authority is still stronger in the 'higher' than in the 'lower' classes. But the girls of the former classes, badly and incompletely educated as they may be, have certain interests which absorb their increasing physical and

mental energy. One of the drawbacks of organized games and sports is their expensiveness, which makes them difficult if not impossible of access to the working girl. But such sports or games seem to be the only alternative to unorganized drifting about the streets in a period when the home has lost its attractiveness and girl club life is practically non-existent. Until a few years ago, the majority of young working-class girls had two great safeguards: domestic service and religion. Neither of these was an altogether satisfactory business from the individual's point of view. The domestic servant was overworked and underfed, and nearly always bullied by her employer, and despised by her fellows in the factory. Religion, particularly Roman Catholic at the one extreme and the nonconformist variety, shading into such sensational brands as that of the Salvation Army and other unorthodox types, at the other, did little to educate or uplift her mind, though it could provide an outlet for her emotions. Nevertheless these two institutions kept the girls in definite and guarded circles. Now that they are gradually disappearing, professional restraint imposed by 'service' with its plain and frequently ugly uniforms, and the mild pleasures provided by church services, are ceasing to exist. Instead of the intimate though frequently unhappy relationships existing between woman employer and employed, we have the impersonal contact between factory and office officials, and 'hands' or clerks; while the cinema appears to be taking the place of the church as far as regular attendance and emotional stimulus goes. Week by week sixpences are coming out of the collection plate and going into the box office.

We saw how in the Middle Ages, and to some extent in modern Catholic Europe, Madonna worship provided an emotional outlet for women. For the Madonna the film 'star' appears to have been substituted. The Old Masters dressed the mother of God in the fashions of their period; but the fashions of to-day, provided by a few dressmakers, have the film actress as their chief apostle. Moreover—and this will particularly concern us when we come to study the decay of the home—the setting of the film star as flashed weekly on thousands of screens must have its influence in determining the direction of her admirers' ambitions. To a sophisticated mind the fashions in clothes and furniture of the screen appear ridiculous. But no sophisticated woman identifies herself with a film 'vamp' or heroine. It is the unsophisticated working girl who watches greedily the transformation of her alleged colleague into a dazzlingly dressed creature moving from place to place in motor cars instead of omnibuses; whose adventures leave her no time for such routine duties as the daily checking-in at the office or factory gate; whose lovers, invariably wealthy, do not tempt her with any less generous gift than ropes of pearls or fur coats. I remember a film-title—'Souls for Sables.' The American-made popular film appears to every educated person as ridiculously and disgustingly untrue to life; its popularity makes one conjecture that to its devotees not the film, but life itself, appears 'untrue,' and particularly 'unfair.'

We know that their education has rendered these girls markedly unfit to participate actively in amusement; but even if they are taught, as sometimes

happens, dances which must be performed by several persons, each of whom has a part to play to complete the whole, the kind of dancing offered to them when they leave school makes no demands whatever on such ability. It is both mechanical and hypnotizing. Sport is practically closed to them. Their amusements, therefore, never call for active participation; they consist almost entirely either in sitting in a chair and keeping their eyes on a screen, or in moving their bodies in such a simple manner that they need exert no conscious effort to place their feet correctly. Even a church service demands, at least in the hymns, co-operation from the worshippers.

An extraordinarily unimpressionable, calm, dull temperament only could retain its stability in the circumstances of the modern girl, in her duties and her recreations. But it seems, on the contrary, as if these girls, released from the inhibitions which used to condemn young women to a rigorous and sometimes cruel 'self-control,' were on the contrary extremely impressionable, excitable, and vivacious, far more so than their brothers. The onset of puberty and the years of adolescence are admittedly more disturbing, both physiologically and psychologically, for girls than for boys. Female mortality increases during puberty and between the years of forty to forty-five. During these periods a strain is imposed on the female body by the processes taking place in it, which renders it more susceptible to disease than is the male body at a similar time. There is little doubt that from every point of view the years of puberty are those during which the greatest care should be taken of females. The ancients, who, while

allowing great freedom to their girl children, practically imprisoned them at home between childhood and marriage, are justified by modern researches in biology.

The psychological development of these young girls; the combined effects of over-stimulation of the imagination and the desires, of insufficient exercise, and almost complete lack of creative or intellectual occupation, lead them to find in sexual adventures the only possible emotional outlet. But in their case promiscuity is no barrier to ultimate marriage. The chances of marriage for the professional prostitute are slight compared with those of other women; for the amateur they are great. Owing to the fact that she is in pretty constant employment, the young men with whom she associates are not called on to spend a great deal of money on her. This is precisely one of her attractions for them. A husband, however, is desirable from her point of view. If she does not intend to give up her work on marriage, the joint income will provide her with more pleasure than it will give him. Moreover, youth is her chief attraction; the young men she favours are mostly her contemporaries. Within a few years they will either marry or seek younger companions, and her additional income, in cash or kind, will dwindle. The professional prostitute, having no honest trade, is compelled to go on as long as she finds customers, with the only one she knows. For the amateur there is no such necessity. But, outwardly respectable, she may fear to be left 'on the shelf.' She may also find her work uninteresting, be anxious to give it up, and this is only possible if she can find a man to support her.

Enormous numbers of young men now marry, thinking that a 'working' wife will be cheaper to maintain than a domestic one. They overlook the fact that such a wife will waste, through lack of knowledge, and inexperience of housekeeping, almost as much as she may earn. They fail to realize that the standards of such a wife, in matters of dress and amusement, are considerably higher than those of an economically less independent girl. Precisely such standards have made it necessary for her to supplement her income with the aid of her men friends. Nearly all these young people live in lodgings, since home life is impossible without the wife at home. A landlady is an expensive alternative. The lodging-house can never be a substitute for the home; it can never offer inducement to the wife to stay 'at home' when she is not working outside it. She will still want the amusements of her girlhood. Unless the man is exceptionally well off according to the standards of his class, it will be difficult for him to keep the pace, in the matter of clothes and pleasures, expected by the young wife. Children in such circumstances are of course a serious impediment from every point of view. Sometimes, however, in spite of birth control, they arrive. The woman is generally forced to resign her job, and the family income is halved, though it will have to suffice for more people. On this smaller income the mother has then to provide for three or four individuals instead of two; she must either sacrifice her former pleasures or save on the food, clothing, or general comforts of the babies. All these circumstances will hardly improve her happiness or her temper.

The tragic Thompson and Bywaters case a few years ago, afforded a perhaps exaggerated illustration of the circumstances I have been describing. The Thompsons had no children; lived in lodgings; the wife earned a good income and spent most of it on clothes and pleasures. Bywaters had not been her only lover. In her case we had a really ghastly illustration of the power of tragedy of tremendous sexual instincts—thwarted of reproductive outlet and over-stimulated to a pathological point by the life the woman had led for several years.

Before we talk of the decay of marriage and the disintegration of the home under modern conditions, it is surely necessary to investigate the psychology of the young women now entering on marriage, and providing for themselves and their husbands the environment alleged to be a home. I think there are factors at work indeed antagonistic to monogamous marriage and home life. I will examine them when we consider the various circumstances relative to the normal married woman and the home. But before we can attempt to solve the existing problems, it will be well to bear in mind that the amateur prostitute brings to home life and matrimony her own, very different from those of the ordinary housewife. To paraphrase, and perhaps to parody, Hugh Walpole's famous aphorism about life: 'It is not the home that matters, but the woman you bring to it.'

The type of woman I propose to call the 'intersex' in order to avoid inexact definitions such as 'manly,' 'mannish,' 'unfeminine,' and so forth, presents modern society with a grave problem. Eunuchs have in the

past made good soldiers and even gave history one of the greatest Byzantine generals. Men with slightly abnormal sex lives continue, as we know, to play useful and often even heroic parts in social and political spheres. When it is mainly psychological in character, and provided it does not actively harm the young, homosexuality cannot be damned forthwith. So long as we continue to bring up our young men of the leading classes in the classical tradition, and so long as a normal sex life is made practically impossible for them until they attain independence, it would be ridiculous to pretend that homosexuality, often no more than expressed preference for the companionship of their own sex, does not play a great part in the emotional life of these young men.

In the case of female intersexuality the social antecedents at any rate are fundamentally different. The girls' public school has not had and never will have the same classical traditions as the boys' public school. It is the classical tradition, essentially male, created by men and for men, that has for centuries influenced Anglo-Saxon education of boys. Even in exceptional Sparta, where the girls played the same games as the boys, and often with them, this policy was not followed so that in afterlife the girls should adapt themselves wholly to a masculine manner of living. Their freedom was expressly given them in order to harden and strengthen them for motherhood; because it was thought that virile women produced virile men. It is important to note that Spartan policy in this matter was jointly developed by both sexes, and that the point of view was a definitely parental one, shaped by the ambition to produce the

maximum number of strong healthy children of both sexes.

According to Spiers,[11] the Jews did not consider any unmarried man or woman fit to educate children. The Jews, like the Spartans, had a racial policy, even before they had a political one, and when they ceased to exist as a nation, when they were scattered throughout the world, their racial policy was never abandoned.

It is difficult to find a racial policy underlying modern European education for girls. While it is admitted that such education must necessarily have a twofold object, motherhood is not considered the most important vocation to which a girl should aspire. As if to console all those who will not have an opportunity to become mothers, no specific training for such a future is given. The Christian tradition has taught that a Christian woman should consider spinsterhood more meritorious than marriage; that marriage should not be sought, but should be left to chance (though in countries where the dowry system prevails this is not so in practice), and from the traditions of the nunnery, whence in olden times the only women suitable to become teachers sprang, has come the custom of confiding all female education to unmarried women. We have seen how the celibate woman gradually emancipated herself from the confinement of the convent; how, remaining entirely secular, she won her place as a governess or as a nurse, and how, within the past thirty or forty years, all those who could obtain a footing in some other career preferred to abandon the ill-paid and mournful profession of teaching girls. With the opening up of fresh economic fields for women all those

with a little more than average intelligence have gradually deserted education; so that to-day those spinsters who remain governesses, school-teachers, or Fellows of women's colleges, are far from being the most intelligent or enterprising of their sex. (Similar conditions, as we shall soon see, exist in the other field which women entered from the convent gates, that of nursing the sick.)

The segregation of the boarding-school and the college cuts off the women spending their whole lives there from social activities mingling freely with those of men; it lessens their chances of marriage and prevents them from seeing men except through a mist of illusion—or delusion. It causes the originally normal girl to discard those specifically feminine attributes which are encouraged by a normal existence; finally it atrophies her sex life.

The study of dress shows that it had its origin in a desire for ornament, prompted by a longing for fertility. The very earliest clothes were girdles made of cowrie shells or similar objects of superstitious veneration. The majority of modern women dress in order to enhance their attractiveness, and welcome the wearing of evening dress, because it allows them a greater display of skin and figure than ordinary clothes permit. It is interesting to follow the development of clothes in feminine institutions which had their origin in the convent, such, for example, as the nursing profession. Here we find a hideous and, according to modern views, unpractical costume which has not yet been discarded. There is nothing more conspicuous in behaviour than the attitude of females unable or unwilling to attract

males to any form of clothes for women in general which emphasize their sexual appeal. The nursing profession, like that of teaching, is crammed with undersexed or intersexual female types. The costume of the 'schoolmarm' has become a music-hall classic—it is clear that segregation is the cause of its ugliness. In a community almost entirely feminine, the young woman who wishes to win favour with her superiors is constrained to conform to their tastes—tastes which (excepting those of marked homosexuals) will be diametrically opposed to those of men. Moreover, her authoritative position with regard to younger members of her sex calls forth certain pseudo-masculine qualities. The schoolmistress's duties resemble superficially those of the schoolmaster. Unconsciously she will do all she can to enhance that resemblance. She cannot, even if she would, set her pupils the example in typically feminine behaviour; but, feeding them from the spoon of deceit with which she feeds herself, she will teach them to admire and imitate those pseudo-male forms of behaviour—her 'sense of fair play, of sportsmanship,' her ability to 'play the game'—which convince her that she is as manly as any man. She will bring them up as future competitors with men; psychological and economic competitors; the idea of partnership, of the complementary functions of the sexes, cannot be a reality to her. As biology, particularly mammalian biology, is not very much to the fore in the programmes of girls' schools, and as instruction in sexual science is strictly taboo in them, the pupils will have little chance to judge their teacher's behaviour.

No better evidence to illuminate the mind of the

female don can be found than in her own words. Miss Jane Harrison,[12] a late Principal of Newnham College, has won a considerable reputation in academic circles as an authority on the religion, and particularly the ritual of ancient Greece. 'A ritual dance,' she writes, 'a ritual procession with vestments and lights and banners, move me as no sermon, no hymn, no picture, no poem has ever moved me.' Such predilection postulates a strong sense of beauty, canalized perhaps into a rather narrow channel, but nevertheless potent. But when it comes to mere clothes, Miss Harrison's aesthetic views are completely altered. 'Anyhow, even now when I see a faultlessly turned-out man or woman, I always expect he or she will prove to be a fool and a bore. We cannot all be distinguished, but for heaven's sake, let us all be shabby and comfortable. At a Cambridge function, when he was Chancellor, I once gazed with admiration at the late Duke of Devonshire. His right boot had a largish hole in it from which emerged a grey woollen toe. That, I felt, was really ducal.'

Now I may perhaps be justly accused of attaching too much importance to the random reminiscences of an elderly lady. But in view of that lady's former position and her indisputable influence on the girls of an earlier, and to some extent of the present generation, one may be pardoned for pointing out some curious discrepancies in her remarks. A man or woman of great wealth may be a fool, whether his or her boots are mended or whether they are in holes. A person faultlessly turned out by a tailor or dressmaker may have contributed nothing but a cheque to the re-

sultant achievement. But it is in my opinion a sign of the worst form of snobbery—intellectual snobbery—to hold up as an example of good breeding a duke, either too absent-minded or too mean to have his clothes kept in repair. In a dustman such behaviour would be speedily taken by his social superiors as a sign of dangerous tendencies. Comfort is entirely a personal matter. I myself would not feel comfortable in dirty or shabby clothes; other people might. I never feel so stimulated as when I am wearing a new and well-fitting dress or hat which I have carefully chosen, even though I am not sufficiently expert at the art of dress-making to have created it myself. If shabbiness and comfort were synonymous, the poor wife and mother would certainly be the happiest member of the community. However, the arguments aside, a Principal of Newnham holding these views is, in my opinion, in every way the wrong person to have charge of young and impressionable girls.

As was only to be concluded from the passage I have quoted, Miss Harrison thinks she gained more than she lost by 'escaping' marriage. 'Family life never has attracted me. At its best it seems to me rather narrow and selfish; at its worst, a private hell. The rôle of wife and mother is no easy one; with my head full of other things I might have dismally failed. On the other hand, I have a natural gift for community life. It seems to me sane and civilized and economically right. I like to live spaciously, but rather plainly, in large halls with great spaces and quiet libraries. I like to wake in the morning with the sense of a great, silent garden round me. These things are, or should be, and

soon will be, forbidden to the private family: they are right and good for the community. *If I had been rich I should have founded a learned community for women, with vows of consecration and a beautiful rule and habit; as it is, I am content to have lived many years of my life in a college.'* The italics are mine.

So far I have endeavoured to follow the development of a psychological pseudo-masculinity in women teachers who began life as normal members of their sex. The picture would be incomplete without a reference to a definitely homosexual type of spinster. No precautions whatever are taken in order to ensure that such individuals, with a more or less marked bias towards the anatomical development of the other sex, are restrained from educating normal girls. In their case, even more than in the previous one, there will be every psychological inducement to educate their pupils in a direction away from, if not definitely antagonistic to, a future maternal vocation.

Miss Clemence Dane[13] is the one English woman writer who has attacked the problem of middle-class girls' education from the psychological point of view. But, together with an advance in broadmindedness on all 'moral' questions, there goes nowadays an increasing awareness of the risks of homosexuality for women. Modern psychology, and particularly psycho-analysis, has furnished clues to certain forms of behaviour that were not previously considered of importance, certainly not of danger, to the community. Public opinion is only very gradually and slowly coming to consider the existence of female homosexuality. That it is doing so

in some countries is proven by the success in Paris of a play dealing with this theme. In this play, 'La Prisonnière,'[14] there is shown a young girl whose mind and character have been completely demoralized by a woman of this type; so much so that while a normal life with the man who loves her is impossible for her, she nevertheless flies to him in desperation from her lover's pursuit, only to ruin his happiness as well as her own. 'Ghosts'—in a sense very different from Ibsen's—the author calls these women and girls, who have no concern with the emotions or activities of normal procreative men and women.

The most striking aspect of the play is its portrayal of the unhappiness suffered by the girl victim. Since seeing it I have endeavoured to find out from women witnesses whether this emotional state was exaggerated in its representation; as far as I have been able to gather it was not. It can easily be seen how thoroughly inimical to the interests of the race such a situation may be. If it developed on a large scale it would surely merit close study and attention. I do not go so far as to assert—for lack of quantitative evidence—that in boarding-schools such relationships are a commonplace; but I do emphatically say that here we have an ideal ground on which they can germinate and flourish.

We are revising all our opinions on the value of virginity—economic, social, political or religious. Scientific students cannot avoid scientific conclusions such as the demonstrable evidence that in certain animals, including man, the non-fulfilment of the

normal sex functions due to atrophy or castration may cause the emergence in later life of the secondary sexual characters of the opposite sex.

We have not yet the means to investigate the psychological effects of permanent virginity in great detail, but enough is known to make us aware that in entrusting responsibility towards individuals and the State to elderly virgins we may be acting unwisely.

Recently there has been a movement to exclude mothers, actual or potential, from the education of children in municipal schools. The danger of exclusively employing virgins here is not so great, in view of the fact that such children mostly live at home, and that they leave school at the age of fourteen.

The virgin may be an excellent and useful member of the community or she may not. In her case individual psychology counts for a great deal, and generalization is almost impossible. It is obvious that when her intersexuality is not great, when, as far as possible, she lives a normal life and her habits and interests are almost normally female, she will not be harmful. The further they deviate towards those of the male, the greater must be the danger of her influence. There are certain industries, arts, and crafts in which the female intersex is of great usefulness, and particularly to subordinate positions which do not call for great emotional development, for great experience of life, and for a wide and generous point of view in the executant, this type may be admirably fitted. But in dealing with education, or in nursing, or medicine, intermediate women may do an enormous amount of harm. The whole nursing profession, for example, has been sub-

jected to the point of view and behaviour of intersexual women, and the unhappiness and pain they can either consciously or unconsciously inflict is only known to normal women who have had the misfortune to be 'nursed' by them, or to have been their subordinates.

Making a virtue of necessity, such women in their thousands have, since the days of the suffragette, endeavoured to direct public opinion with regard to their sex. In the past few years, particularly since the war, when their advertised activities threw into the background the less spectacular exertions of mothers who had to carry, bear, and rear infants on insufficient rations or in other circumstances of considerable hardship, their influence has grown alarmingly. Their fanaticism and crankiness have caused them to take up freak science, freak religions, and freak philanthropy. They are the chief supporters of movements such as anti-vivisection, which does its best to retard the advance of experimental science in this country; of dogs' homes and cats' homes; of missionary societies and 'kill-joy' propaganda. It is mainly such people who annually cause hundreds of thousands of pounds to be devoted to such 'stunts,' and to payment of the salaries of the parasites whom they sustain, while the widow and the orphan are conspicuously neglected in their legacies.

In the past, when parental authority and that of the Roman Catholic Church were still strong, the public was protected against their activities. The 'old maid' was kept down with an iron hand. No one would wish a fellow-creature to endure unhappiness because society refused to make room for his or her development, but

it can never for a moment be gainsaid that such individuals are of small importance compared to those destined to carry on the race. To give such females political and social power, to open all doors to them, may prove in the end the means to inactivate or to endanger those who must first of all be encouraged and protected.

It is unlikely that until the practical effects of psychology have been worked out with regard to individuals, groups, or the community as a whole, much can be done to deal satisfactorily with this human type. The relationship of psychology to the genetical foundations of the individual; to heredity and environment; the various influences which affect it, and the possibilities of treating abnormal psychological types less gross than the certified insane or the convicted criminal, have not yet been sufficiently explored. It may nevertheless be useful to point out the existence of certain facts, even though we are not yet in a position completely to analyse or to control them.

To sum up, the individual woman seems at present to fall more or less into or in between one or the other of the following divisions:—

1. The sexually normal, whose career leads in due course to mating and motherhood.

2. The originally normal, doomed to permanent virginity with or without the necessity to support herself economically.

3. The professional or 'vocational' prostitute, who lives either on or chiefly by the economic support of men to whom she does not bear children.

4. The 'amateur' prostitute, who while substantially

earning her own living relies on men for providing her luxuries and amusements. She either may or may not bear children.

5. The sub-normal, in whom the sex-life, through ill-health or under-nourishment, becomes atrophied or sterilized.

6. The intersexual, deviating more or less markedly from the feminine form towards the anatomical and psychological characteristics of the masculine sex.

As all these types compete with one another for economic advantages, for their 'daily bread,' their interests conflict. There is direct competition for the economic support wholly or partly provided by husbands or lovers between groups 1, 3, 4, and to some extent 5. There is indirect competition between the reproducing woman and the non-reproducing woman, either because the unmarried woman competes directly with to-be-married or married men, or because the money spent on supporting her in unemployment, ill-health, or old age cannot be devoted to national schemes favouring motherhood and childhood.

There is psychological antagonism of a greater or lesser degree between all the other groups and group 1. Only the normal wife and mother will consider her interests identical with those of her husband and her children. The 'amateur' prostitute will, after marriage, allow her own interests to compete with those of husband and children. She will be quick to respond to the suggestion of all the spinster groups that the man is always the woman's enemy, seeking to exploit her. That the spinster will become antagonistic to the mother in so far as her genetic and psycho-

logical bias is towards masculine behaviour may perhaps be granted. But a serious point arises in this connexion. The least womanly women have hitherto fought the battle for their sex's emancipation most energetically. At the same time they have sought and obtained disciples among young girls. They have unconsciously or deliberately fomented 'sex-antagonism' by competing with men economically and by refusing to conform, or to allow women in general to conform, to the masculine ideals of sex relationships. They have endeavoured to cover with contempt such of their sex who agreed to such relationships. The normal women, lacking the economic freedom and the emotional intensity of their abnormal sisters, have been conspicuously in the background in every conflict so far waged between the sexes. Their point of view has hardly ever been raised by themselves, though it has been advocated by their husbands and sons and a few isolated women of normal type who have won their way into public life in middle age and who, fortunately, are increasingly taking part in it.

In trying to discover the facts about the modern home and the provision at present made for mothers, it will be necessary to recall the foregoing points. Biologically speaking, one sex can never be the enemy of the other, nor can their interests conflict, seeing that both are united in their responsibilities towards their young. The present conflict is chiefly due to the anti-biological influence of the Christian religion in the past, and that of female types who, while biologically superfluous, are nowadays socially and politically influential members of the community.

Goldschmidt: 'The Mechanism and Physiology of Sex-Determination.'
Crew: 'Animal Genetics.'
G. Ward Cutler: 'Evolution, Heredity and Variation.'
Weil: 'Die Körpermasse der Homosexuellen.' 'Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik.'
Lipschütz: 'The Internal Secretions of the Sex Glands.'
Abel: 'Physiological, Chemical, and Clinical Studies on Pituitary Principles.'
Huxley: 'Sex-Determination and Related Problems,' Medical Science.
Leuba: 'The Psychology of Religious Mysticism.'
W. P. Kennedy: 'Diet and Sterility,' Phys. Reviews.
Flaubert: 'Madame Bovary.'
Spiers: 'The School System of the Talmud.'
Jane Ellen Harrison: 'Reminiscences of a Student's Life.'
Clemence Dane: 'Regiment of Women.'
Edouard Bourdet: 'La Prisonnière.'

Chapter 8

THE MATERNAL INSTINCT

La génération et l'éducation de l'homme se sont faites jusqu'ici presqu'au hasard; nulle science n'y a penétré.

Renan, 'Dialogues Philosophiques.'

SUMMARY

1. 'Are mothers born or made?' Zoological examples.
2. Definition of maternal instinct.
3. Opposed points of view.
4. Observation of primates.
5. Foster mothers.
6. Behaviourist arguments.
7. Parental and maternal behaviour.
8. Suckling and infant feeding.
9. Environment and infant psychology.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MATERNAL INSTINCT

La génération et l'éducation de l'homme se sont faites jusqu'ici presqu'au hasard; nulle science n'y a penétré.

RENAN, 'Dialogues Philosophiques.'

The most controversial problem connected with the functions of motherhood can perhaps be summed up in the question, 'Are mothers born or made?' All normal healthy females may be regarded as potential mothers. Women, in this sense, are just like queen bees, birds, or other mammals; fertilization leads to propagation. But, although even a mated hen cannot produce chicks by merely laying eggs, but must keep them warm and enable them to hatch, 'motherhood,' as we understand it, begins after the birth of the young. Baby guinea-pigs are born with all their second teeth cut, and in a very few hours achieve almost complete independence of the mother. Young rabbits or kittens are born blind, and for a period of weeks are almost completely helpless. Not, however, until we come to our own 'poor relations,' the primates, or higher apes, do we find in Nature a close parallel to our own case. The baby chimpanzee apparently needs as careful maternal attendance as the human baby, and for a period almost, though not quite, as lengthy.

'Nursing,' in the sense in which we commonly use it, does not merely mean suckling. It covers the whole range of maternal activities, of which suckling is only one, though from the infant's point of view the most important. And it is when we come to nursing, as generally understood, that our question appears a reasonable one.

It is obviously very important to find out how marked, if it exists at all, the 'maternal instinct' is; how far a woman capable of bearing children is able, without acquired knowledge, to rear them through the critical days of early infancy and childhood; how far the so-called maternal coincides with the parental type of behaviour.

The difficulties of examining the problem are at once manifest. The word instinct has by now become surrounded by interpretations, misinterpretations, taboos, rationalizations, and propaganda. The type of male mind which would deny to the female all or nearly all rational intelligence could not with self-respect permit love and mating if there were not something to be said for women. Woman is therefore alleged to bring to man's aid and comfort instinct and intuition; feminine intuition is the corollary and complement of masculine intelligence.

Propagandists of this view will bring forward abundant evidence from the animal world, and particularly from the avian world, to prove the beautiful care, the touching devotion, and so forth, of the females for their young. Parental behaviour in which the father shares, though it is intuitive, is approved and cited. A male robin cannot claim to possess rational intelligence,

so no harm can be done by showing him in the act of teaching the little ones to fly or to catch worms 'by instinct.' When we come to mammals, however, these apologists drop the parental for the purely maternal instinct. For they cannot deny that the rabbit buck, if left with the doe and their young, frequently tramples the latter to death; or that the great male chimpanzee, as we shall soon find, can be an extremely dangerous companion for his child.

Opposed to the claims of the supporters of instinct are those of scientific observers often as violently prejudiced in the opposite direction. Certain psychologists, such as J. B. Watson,[1] founder and leader of the Behaviourist School, flatly deny all so-called instincts, just as they deny the existence of mind, apart from body. It is the nervous system, they say, which regulates human response or reaction to any and every situation. If I choose to evoke and control the situation, I can call forth precisely the reaction adapted to it; the reaction thus provoked is called a conditioned reflex.

Observation and experiment can give us facts; the more numerous the facts, the closer the agreement between observations, the weightier the evidence. But the interpretation of this evidence is the crucial difficulty, since even the best scientific observers are seldom wholly free from the desire to make out a case, or to prove an hypothesis.

The success, after many failures, which finally rewarded the effort to breed chimpanzees in captivity, has provided certain evidence of profound importance with regard to maternal behaviour. The close relationship in certain points between ourselves and the tailless

apes, makes it obvious that in studying such alleged instinctive actions as those of the ape mother towards her baby, we shall learn a great deal about ourselves. I propose to quote largely here from the thrillingly interesting book by Professor Yerkes[3] on the behaviour of monkeys and apes in captivity, most aptly entitled 'Almost Human.'

The first ape-baby born in a cage was Anuma, a male chimpanzee, who appeared at Quinta Palatino in Cuba, on 27th April 1915. After the death of Cucusa, his mother, his father, Jimmy, a great powerful male, was mated a second time, but the marriage was without issue. As third wife he married Monona, a white-faced chimpanzee maiden. 'The union of Jimmy and Monona resulted in the birth, on 22nd January 1923, of a female infant named Lita.' Although there was no human eye-witness of the birth of either of these interesting ape-children, the behaviour of mothers, father, and offspring was abundantly studied. The period of gestation for the chimpanzee is the same as for the human species—nine months. 'During this period the relations of the male and female continue as usual, but following the birth of the young and until the baby is weaned and the production of milk ceases, there is no relation whatever between the animals. It appears then . . . that the conditions of lactation determines the relations of the sexes.'

'The actual birth of the infant was not observed in the case of any of Madame Abreu's animals,' but 'everything indicates that the behaviour of both male and female at such times is as appropriate as that of persons, and no less indicative of altruistic motive and devotion

to the offspring. Instances are lacking of ill-treatment by the male of either mother or infant.'

'The young chimpanzee, having been thoroughly cleaned and dried by the mother, clings to her hair, and presently, under normal and favourable circumstances, begins to nurse. . . . The care of the infant chimpanzee by its mother during the early days and weeks is worthy of a high level of intelligence. There is a notable combination of firmness, tenderness, skill, and care. The mother may be impatient, but except under abnormal conditions she seemingly is not vindictive nor neglectful. When she punishes, it is for adequate cause, and one may approve her implicit confidence in this pedagogical method even though he doubts its efficacy in his own species.'

'Then comes the period of tuition.' The mother is said—though by Madame Abreu, not a scientifically trained witness—to teach the baby to walk when it is about two months old.

'The tranquillity of a monkey or ape family in captivity is not uninterrupted. . . . During the early period of infancy the male parent may behave very well indeed, may appear devoted to his offspring and actually prove helpful in the care of it, although undoubtedly his main responsibility is to provide protection for mother and child. But as the baby acquires greater freedom and independence, the father also becomes more independent and more eager, apparently for freedom from the limitations set upon him and his mate by the responsibility for offspring. Then it happens that the male may act as though trying to drive the infant from the household.'

'Jimmy, morose old chimpanzee as he is, has not been observed to treat Lita unkindly. Now and again . . . he has outbursts of temper, provoked perhaps by jealousy, during which he yells in a terrifying way, rushes about the cage, seizes anything within reach, and shakes it as if to tear it to pieces. . . . That Monona and Lita are afraid of Jimmy during these periods of excitement there can be no doubt. . . .'

One cannot leave the subject of animal maternal behaviour without reference to foster-mothers or nurses. I myself once owned two cats, a mother and a daughter. The mother had kittens when the daughter was grown up. She showed very little interest in them within a few days of their birth, wandering off on her own affairs, while the daughter adopted her step-sisters and brothers, and would no doubt have continued to bring them up if they had not soon after met with the sad fate of most kittens.

'After the birth of Anuma,' writes Yerkes, 'the adolescent female Mimosa was with Cucusa, and she eagerly constituted herself the nursemaid, often taking entire charge of the baby. Later, when Mimosa was mature, she was left with the male, Jimmy, but he paid no attention to her although they were on the best of terms.'

The maternal instinct, then, such as it is, seems to appear as readily in females who have not yet begotten offspring of their own as in actual mothers. We know this is so in human beings, and that spinster nurses are often 'second mothers' to their charges. But the animal evidence seems to show that this behaviour is not entirely, though no doubt largely, due to the

encouragement of little girls to play with dolls and take an interest in babies. This building up of 'conditioned' behaviour, as Watson would call it, is independent of any instruction in sexual physiology.

In 'Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist,' Watson expresses himself as follows with regard to the alleged maternal instinct:—

'Thorndike says:—"To a woman who has given birth to a child, a baby to see and hold and suckle, is perhaps the most potent satisfaction life can offer, its loss the cause of saddest yearning. To a woman who has given birth to a child, the baby she sees, holds and nurses, appeals almost irresistibly when it gives a cry of hunger, pain or distress, the start of surprise, the scream of fear, the smiles of comfort, the cooing, and gurgling and shouting of vocal play." '

'A great many other psychologists also idealize the parental behaviour in this way. To those who work in maternity wards the situation is sometimes seen to be quite otherwise. We have observed the nursing, handling, bathing, etc., of the first baby of a good many mothers. Certainly there are no new ready-made activities appearing except nursing. The mother is usually as awkward about it as she well can be. The instinctive factors are practically *nil*. The emotional activity of both parents may be intense, but this is often the result of many factors. The infant thus comes as a "loaded" stimulus. Very often the mother who is unshackled by social conventions behaves quite differently from the way she should behave if Thorndike's pictures were correct. Even in cases where the woman is duly married, and there is no reason for a loading or a trans-

fer of an emotional state of an adverse kind upon the child, little maternal behaviour of the type described above appears. Society puts the strongest pressure upon a conventional attitude with respect to the proper care of the youngster, and the emotional attitude which should be displayed with reference to it. . . .

'There is a stronger and stronger tendency among educated women to break away from the sentimental drivel connected with the rearing of the child, and to make a scientific problem of it. Just to the extent to which convention permits it, rationalization occurs. This is a strong argument that maternal behaviour is not mainly instinctive. Rationalization does not mean that strong attachments of the type we have already discussed may not grow up between parent and child.'

The tender emotions aroused by the child and described by Thorndike, are not specifically human emotions and may therefore count on the side of maternal instinct. The yearning and grieving over a dead baby was observed in the case of the chimpanzee by Yerkes himself and by Mme. Abreu. 'The attachment of the female primate to her young,' he writes, 'has often been observed and recorded. Parental emotion is more impressive in the primates than in any other type of animal, and increasingly so from the lower monkey-like animals to the great apes. No monkey mother will ordinarily allow a baby, even though it be dead, to be taken from her or to be removed from the cage.' The writer has himself observed this, and he has verification of the essential features of behaviour from other persons. There are several experiences at

Quinta Palatino which are pertinent. Only one may be related:—

'After the birth of Cucusa's second baby the mother became ill. The baby was affected and died. "Cucusa would not let us take away the baby, so I—" (Mme. Abreu) "contrived to put a cord around its neck, and to conceal it so that the mother should not notice anything unusual. Then I began to play with Cucusa, to caress her, and to divert her attention from the little one. When I saw my opportunity I signalled to my helpers and they, jerking the cord, pulled the body of the baby from Cucusa's arms. She was not holding it very tightly, so we succeeded in this way in getting it from her. She cried and cried, and I did my best to console her."'

Watson's observations show that many theorists have confounded parental emotions in which the father may share almost as intensely as the mother with purely maternal ones. Parental behaviour, as it has been developed by civilized or even semi-civilized peoples, is not a matter of instinct alone. We have here to consider the enormous influence of tradition and example. In 'The Right to be Happy,' Mrs. Bertrand Russell[3] has shown very clearly the wide difference between sexual and parental emotions, and has traced both to their sources. The ideal mother is not necessarily the ideal wife; the 'great lover,' as history and biography have proved conclusively, may be quite devoid of parental feelings. Mary Wollstonecraft was the victim of a man, the father of poor Fanny Imlay, who drove her 'from happy confidence, through unwillingly admitted doubt, to final despair. For the sake of their

child Fanny, she refused to give him up until it was simply impossible for her to bear, not only his indifference, but his glaring infidelities.'[4] Her responsibility towards the illegitimate child, intelligent woman though she was, did not prevent Mary from twice attempting suicide. It is obvious that abandoned and unhappy girls may feel none of the alleged tender emotions for an unwanted baby, and, in their case, one cannot declare that Watson's views are unwarranted. The victims of social disapproval or even persecution may find tradition too strong for 'instinctive' maternal emotions.

When we come to the subject of suckling we can at once see the great necessity for scientific aid, not only for the human mother of the towns. Let us take the case of the domesticated cow as compared to the wild female buffalo. The wild animal mother's milk seems to contain all the necessary ingredients to supply her baby with health and strength. The cow, kept in a dark shed during the entire winter, will produce milk deficient in certain factors, such as vitamin D.[5] It will not protect her calf, or young rats, or human infants against rickets, which have been called a disease of civilization. The milk of the poor town mother, dwelling in a dark, sunless slum, will be just as deficient in this respect. If, however, cow's milk, human milk, or nursing mothers are irradiated with ultra-violet light, the deficiency vanishes; or if the infant is given cod liver oil (particularly rich in vitamins A and D), its diet will be satisfactorily supplemented to prevent rickets.

What clearer evidence could there be to show that modern civilized human babies need more than mere maternal instinct and pure mother's milk can supply?

In many cases mother's milk may be totally unsuitable or insufficient for the child. Then the biochemist employed by the great artificial-milk factories must be called in. He will enable the commercial producers to prepare a diet which alone can give the infant everything he needs for growth and health.

Infant feeding and hygiene are now well established as fields for scientific research. More recently infant psychology has been added to them. The literature is enormous in Germany, England, and America. The most original work has perhaps been done by Wilhelm and Clara Stern,[6] who began experimenting on their own children in the last century; by Koffka,[7] who has tried to continue Köhler's[8] experiments with apes on children, and whose scheme is known as the 'Gestalt-theorie'; by Freud,[9] whose psycho-analysis, though in some respects too narrow and in almost all insufficiently scientific, has yet given the whole matter invaluable publicity, and by Watson,[10] who, rejecting all previous psychological theories, has made most important experiments on infants and children, from a purely behaviouristic point of view.

Watson's 'Behaviourism' is a popular book almost wholly empty of scientific terminology and difficult technical problems. According to him, and on the whole one must agree, there is little to be said, from the infant's point of view, for a purely maternal or parental upbringing. 'I would feel perfectly confident,' he declares, 'in the ultimately favourable outcome of careful upbringing of a *healthy well-formed baby* born of a long line of crooks, murderers and thieves, and prostitutes. . . . I should like to go one step further

now and say, Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in, and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select.' He boldly claims that the importance of heredity has been grossly exaggerated hitherto; that any individual can be moulded at will by conditioning his environment according to behaviouristic experimental methods. Fears, for example, can in early infancy be called forth at the experimenter's will, and likewise, when he wishes it, can be completely eliminated. However novel and at first terrifying Watson's views and methods may seem, the large amount of experimental evidence he quotes does seem to support his claims.

I think we now have sufficient evidence or indication of sources, where it may be gathered, to answer the question asked at the beginning of this chapter. Where the behaviour of the human mother with regard to her offspring coincides with or resembles closely that of other animal mothers, we may talk of maternal instinct and admit that mothers are to some extent 'born.' But we must remember the so obvious and yet so little stressed fact that conditions of modern civilization have subjected the human mother and baby to influences from which the wild animals and to some extent the human savage have remained free. Those influences are physiological and psychological. Here I have only touched on a few which have a direct bearing on infant hygiene and psychology. Later I shall deal with others such as education, the home, population, and economic problems. But I think it is already clear that nowadays

even the most motherly mother, whether she be a simple and unlearned creature or a highly intelligent and cultured person, cannot rely on instinct alone if she would produce and rear healthy children. It has probably always been so, ever since the pastoral and agricultural types of civilization, diverging more and more rapidly from the pre-historic or 'wild' type of human existence, have tended to become increasingly complicated, until the quite artificial and specialized conditions of city and industrial life were developed. But proof can only come by experiment and observation, and we have had to wait until quite recently to obtain it. The further research in physiology, biochemistry and psychology is pursued, the clearer it will become that the modern mother, at any rate, must be helped to deal with her responsibilities; must, in fact, be made.

Watson: 'Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist.'
'Behaviourism.'
Yerkes: 'Almost Human.'
Dora Russell: 'The Right to be Happy.'
E. Robins Pennell: Prefatory Note to 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.'
Boas and Chick: 'Anti-Racbitic Properties of Cow's Milk,' Biochemical Journal, 1924.
W. Stern: 'Psychology of Early Childhood.'
Koffka: 'The Growth of the Mind.'
Köhler: 'The Mentality of Apes.'
Freud: 'Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis,' etc.
Watson: Ibid.

Chapter 9

AN EXPERIMENT IN POLYGAMY

But joyous on that day shall be the inmates of Paradise in their employ;
In shades, on bridal couches reclining, they and their spouses. Therein shall they have fruits, and shall have whatever they require.

The Koran, Sura xxxvi. (Ya Sin).

SUMMARY

1. Account of experiments carried out by the Oneida Creek Community in the United States.

CHAPTER IX

AN EXPERIMENT IN POLYGAMY

But joyous on that day shall be the inmates of Paradise in their employ;
In shades, on bridal couches reclining, they and their spouses. Therein shall they have fruits, and shall have whatever they require.

THE KORAN, SURA XXXVI.

In Western and Middle Europe and in the United States of America, roughly speaking, monogamy is the normal type of union. But Westermarck and other authorities teach us that in spite of our bias in its favour, monogamy is not the only channel into which sex life and love can be successfully turned. Leaving aside the amusing and instructive list of customs of savage or half-civilized peoples, or of civilized nations whose habits have had little or no influence on our own, we must note that polygamy, at any rate, has for short periods been tried with considerable success by our own race, and comparatively recently. The records of these experiments among the Mormons and among the Oneida Creek Community in the United States prove that they were for a time highly successful. The Mormons gave up polygamy in tribute to the views of other Christian sects in their country. But according

to report there are still among them to-day survivors of the 'plural wife' system, who look back upon it not without regret. The Oneida Creek sect[1] practised eugenics from religious motives, under the direction of a man of commanding personality and considerable sexual vigour.

'The Institution afterwards known as the Oneida Community was founded by John Humphrey Noyes at Putney, Vermont, in 1841. In 1848, under pressure of persecution, the Community removed to Oneida, New York, which at that time was a frontier settlement. In its new location the Community grew and prospered until 1st January 1881, when, for reasons which need not here be detailed, it was reorganized as a joint-stock Company. Since that date the joint-stock successor of the Community has carried on its business with extraordinary success, its net assets having increased from about $550,000 in 1881 to nearly $7,000,000 at the present time. . . .

'Noyes first published his views regarding "stirpiculture," as he called it, in the "First Annual Report of the Oneida Community," in February 1849. He says:—

> '"We are not opposed to procreation. But we are opposed to involuntary procreation. We are opposed to excessive and, of course, oppressive procreation, which is almost universal. We are opposed to random procreation, which is unavoidable in the marriage system. But we are in favour of intelligent, well-ordered procreation. We believe the time will come when scientific combination will be applied to human generation as freely and successfully as it is to that of other animals."

'For twenty-seven years after its foundation the Oneida Community was engaged in working out the

immediate problems of its new order of society, and could not undertake an experiment in scientific propagation. But in 1868 it found itself in a situation favourable for such an experiment in the following respects:—

'1. A social system based on their religion, called "complex marriage," which, under stringent regulations, and circumscribed by the limits and approval of the Community, permitted the requisite flexibility in mating.

'2. Sufficient income. From 1841 until 1855 expenses exceeded income. After 1855 income exceeded expenses, and during the period 1868-1872, the net income above all expenses averaged more than $47,000 per year.

'3. Sufficient number of members to admit of a considerable degree of selection. The membership during the eleven years of the stirpicultural experiment ranged from 271 to 306, with a slight excess of women over men.

'4. Capable leaders. Noyes himself was a graduate of Dartmouth College, had studied theology at Andover and Yale, and his management of the Community during twenty-seven years had fully demonstrated his unusual ability. He was surrounded by a cabinet of men and women (among them a number of College graduates), who had shown the qualities of leadership in positions of high responsibility.

'5. Confidence on the part of the members in their leaders and in the stability of the Community. The members were practically unanimous in believing that Noyes and his subordinate leaders were inspired, and that the Community was the earthly representative of

the Kingdom of God. Without this superlative confidence they would not have been willing to engage in such an experiment.

'6. A method of subjective, healthful, reasonably effectual birth-control called "male continence," discovered by Noyes in 1844, which did not exclude from sexual communion those judged unfit to take part in the stirpiculture experiment.

'7. A high degree of passional control due to the fact that discipline and effort had from the beginning been constantly directed toward perfection of character. In the early days no little trouble had been caused by jealousy and exclusiveness, but by 1868 these anti-Communistic traits had been so far conquered that altruism deemed impossible in ordinary society was commonplace in the Community.

'8. Extraordinary religious devotion. This characteristic made a large majority of the Community members fervently desirous not alone negatively to avoid selfishness, but positively to engage with all their powers in any enterprise which they thought in the interest of the Kingdom of God. Such pre-eminently was the enterprise of human redemption by "combining regeneration with scientific generation."'

While the Community did not pretend to unusual knowledge of stirpiculture, the leaders nevertheless devoted much study to the literature of the subject, especially the works of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Noyes embodied the results of his studies in an article entitled 'Scientific Propagation,' which was published in 'The Modern Thinker,' August 1870, and later in pamphlet form.

Early in 1869 the young men and women of the Community made the following declarations:—

STATEMENT ADDRESSED TO J. H. NOYES BY YOUNG MEN

The undersigned desire you may feel that we most heartily sympathize with your purposes in regard to scientific propagation, and offer ourselves to be used in forming any combinations that may seem to you desirable. We claim no rights. We ask no privileges. We desire to be servants of the truth. With a prayer that the grace of God will help us in this resolution, we are your true soldiers.

(Signed by 38 young men.)

RESOLUTION OF YOUNG WOMEN

1. That we do not belong to *ourselves* in any respect, but that we *do* belong first to *God*, and second to Mr. Noyes as God's true representative.

2. That we have no rights or personal feelings in regard to child-bearing which shall in the least degree oppose or embarrass him in his choice of scientific combinations.

3. That we will put aside all envy, childishness and self-seeking, and rejoice with those who are chosen candidates; that we will, if necessary, become martyrs to science, and cheerfully resign all desire to become mothers, if for any reason Mr. Noyes deem us unfit material for propagation. Above all, we offer ourselves 'living sacrifices' to God and true Communism.

(Signed by 53 young women.)

The experiment which followed these declarations occupied the years 1868-1879 inclusive. About 100 men and women took part, of whom 81 became parents. During the eleven years 58 living children were born, and there were four still-births. . . .

The direction of the experiment during the early

years was in the hands of an informal Committee, consisting of the so-called 'central members' of the Community, Noyes himself exercising the preponderating influence. On 25th January 1875 a formal 'stirpiculture Committee,' composed of six men and six women, two of the members being graduates of the Yale Medical School, and the others persons of exceptional experience and judgment, was appointed by the Community and placed in charge. The 'Stirpiculture Committee' functioned for about fifteen months, or until 20th April 1876. After this the direction of the experiment passed into the hands of the 'central members' of the Community.

The general methods of selection are indicated by the records of the 'Stirpiculture Committee.' In a majority of cases application was made to the Committee, by couples desiring to become parents, and the Committee, after due consideration, would either approve or disapprove. If an application was disapproved, the Committee would always interest itself in an attempt to find a combination agreeable to those concerned which it could approve. Occasionally the Committee itself took the initiative in bringing about combinations which in their opinion were specially fit.

Exact statistics as to the number of combinations brought about by the initiative of the Committee are not available, but it is probable that about 25 per cent. of the births were of this character.

Although nearly as many fathers as mothers were engaged in the experiment, 30 of the fathers had only one child each, while the remaining 10 had an average of 2.8 children each.

Children were cared for by their mothers during infancy. When able to walk, a child was admitted to the day nursery department of the 'Children's House,' the mother continuing the night care. From the beginning of the play stage until adolescence, the 'Children's House' had complete charge, though parents visited their children and received visits from them. Much attention was given to diet, clothing, sanitation, and profitable activity, and since epidemic diseases common in outside society were vigilantly excluded, sickness among the children was rare. In case of sickness good medical attention and the best of nursing were immediately available. There were also facilities for quarantine, night watchers, and appliances for comfort and convenience such as few private families could afford. During the forty years 1841-1880 inclusive, in which a total of 193 children were cared for, only 5 deaths occurred in the 'Children's House.' At adolescence a young person graduated from the 'Children's House,' and took his place in the general organization of the Community.

At the reorganization of the Community as a joint-stock Company on 1st January 1881, the provisions made for the women and children were these:—

'The women of the Community participated equally with the men in the distribution of assets in the form of stock, the general basis of division being a proportionate part of the property bought in and an allowance for each year of membership. Several of the mothers who did not immediately marry were given a small extra cash allowance so long as they remained unmarried.

'Every child under two and a half years received an annual appropriation of $200 in cash, until the age of two and a half was reached.

'Every child over two and a half and under sixteen years of age received an annual appropriation according to the profits of the Company, the minimum appropriation being $80 and the maximum $125 per year.

'Every child upon reaching its sixteenth birthday received $200 in cash.

'The Company obligated itself to maintain a suitable school for children under sixteen years of age free of charge.

'The Company also agreed to give preference to the members of the former Community and their children in the matter of employment.

'All these provisions were faithfully carried out by the new Company, and no cases of destitution among the women and children of the Community have ever occurred.'

We see then that it is impossible for a white woman of a fairly high degree of civilization to know true love, and to find full emotional satisfaction without necessarily being at all times the only object of one man's devotion. These facts bear out my theory, that there may be a conflict between the sexual interests of the male and the female, when the latter is engaged with maternal occupations, and that insistence on complete faithfulness of one man to one woman does not necessarily make for the absolute happiness of either. Prejudice, which in this matter is based on a rationalization of

habit (whether congenial or uncongenial), does its best to ignore or to repress this fact. But when, under a strong emotional stimulus, such as in the cases quoted, a religion, prejudice is broken down, new habits are formed without detriment to either party.

However, it would be ridiculous to advocate plurality of wives among Northern white people under the existing economic conditions. Such an arrangement would never be possible unless the marriage laws and the habits of individuals were expressly reorganized in its support—an extremely unlikely event.

The marital experiments at present being made in Russia would, on account of their opposition to old habits chiefly based on the commands of the Christian religion, be extremely interesting, were it not for the fact that they are designed, at present at any rate, to discourage motherhood. The Government of that country has certainly recognized one fact still ignored by all others: the fact that population problems can be dealt with by experimental methods.

REFERENCE TO CHAPTER IX

Hilda Herrick Noyes, M.D.:
George Wallingford Noyes, A.B.: 'The Oneida Community Experiment in Stirpiculture.' ('Eugenics, Genetics and the Family,' vol. 1.)

Chapter 10

'HOME, SWEET HOME'

The flat fact is that English home life to-day is neither honorable, virtuous, wholesome, sweet, clean, nor in any creditable way distinctively English.
Bernard Shaw, Preface to 'Getting Married.'

SUMMARY

1. The decay of domestic religion.
2. The home and the large family.
3. Education in home crafts by mothers.
4. Marital relationships, and economic and social developments.
5. Substitutes for home life.
6. Birth control.
7. Home environments.
8. The child criminal.
9. Mistaken propagandists.

CHAPTER X

'HOME, SWEET HOME'

The flat fact is that English home life to-day is neither honorable, virtuous, wholesome, sweet, clean, nor in any creditable way distinctively English.
BERNARD SHAW, Preface to 'Getting Married.'

The home is undoubtedly one of the oldest and is still held to be one of the most beautiful of human institutions. In reflecting on its past we must not forget the very important part played in the lives of individuals by family prayers and religious ceremonies. Private worship, distinct from public worship, gave to the domestic hearth something of the sanctity of an altar. We have seen the tremendous influence of private religion in Greek life: the significance attached to the wife and mother as guardian of the family deities. Among orthodox Jews, ancient and modern, the wife had the supremely important rôle of guarding all utensils, inspecting all food and supervising its preparation in order to see that everything conformed to the strict Kosher law. This in itself raised ordinary household duties to the level of ritualistic importance. The wife also prepared and lit the ceremonial candles or lamps on the Sabbath eve, and occasionally at the feast of Channukah. She had to provide

the unleavened bread and the prescribed herbs at Passover. Christianity enormously enhanced the power of the priesthood, and in Roman Catholicism there is no allowance for family worship. Among Protestants, however, 'Family Prayers' were for centuries a recognized institution, though in households where there was a male head of the house to lead them, the part of the women was merely attendant.

The reasons for the present decay in home life are several; but among them we must put in a prominent place the rapid passing of domestic religion. It provided a bond which linked all the members of the family together in a strong tie; it cemented fading affections with memories going back to infancy. Its power can hardly be exaggerated.

Another bulwark of the home of the past was the large family. As the older children passed out of it babies came to take their place. In each large family there was probably one daughter who remained unmarried in order to 'keep the old home together,' right up to the deaths of the parents. The whole psychological atmosphere of the home does, in fact, depend on the continuous presence of children in it.

Until 'higher' education for girls became the fashion they were put to learn, at first at the mother's knee, the various arts and crafts which mould a home-maker. Cooking, sewing, cleaning, washing and ironing, buying food, provided the basis of games played with dolls and the dolls' house. If there were babies, the elder girls picked up a rough practical kind of mothercraft by tending them when 'mother' was engaged or ill. Young ladies married early; working girls went into

domestic service at thirteen or fourteen. All girls looked forward to their own home at marriage; and if they were sometimes disappointed it was not because of a housing shortage or the greater attractions of a non-domestic career. For the urban working-class girl the factory was the only alternative; for the middle classes there was a choice between teaching, nursing, companionship to elderly women; for the upper classes there was none.

Feminine love in the past depended, after the early raptures had evaporated, on the feminine need for economic and social protection by the male. So long as women were convinced of their physical and spiritual inferiority to men, so long as wives relied entirely on husbands for financial support, so long as the economic position of wealthy married women depended completely on the probity and goodwill of the husbands to whom their property was wholly entrusted, so long the home had another very powerful bulwark. Inevitably the increased and increasing self-respect of modern women has tended to vitiate the respect, amounting often to awe, with which they regarded their husbands and masters. A man in the old days *was* the master of his home; he moved like a resplendent barnyard cock among his drab and soberly dressed hens. The best food and all the drink and tobacco were his prerogatives; the friends of the house were his friends, or at any rate the people of whom he approved. His wife and daughters depended on his largess for the 'pocket-money' on which they relied for their clothes; they ventured out into society only under his protection or that of his sons. No brand of religion, or of thought

—no newspapers, books, pictures, or music—which he disliked or condemned, were allowed in the house.

This situation, the social relationship between husband and wife, has completely altered. The wife now is or can be financially independent; she has certain rights of guardianship over her children; she can go to work or stay at home as she chooses, and spend her money on whatever clothes or pleasures, or views or amusements, she pleases. She can drink and smoke, with him or without him. She can divorce him for a mere infidelity. The civic and political rights she has won and of which so much fuss was made are psychologically of small importance—though they too count —compared to her social rights.

Modern love must be, in view of these circumstances, a very much more precarious affair than the love of our grandmothers for our grandfathers. We know that religious exercises and the religious 'vocation' have provided and still do provide alternatives to a happy and full sexual experience. The increasing emotional experiences offered by modern life, even such small ones as those connected with food, drink, and tobacco, lessen the need for 'spiritual consolation.' A wife who in the past was not sufficiently amenable to husbandly authority was at any rate impressed by the views or orders of her spiritual director; now, except in rare cases, if she would consent to listen to him at all, she would smile and shrug her shoulders at his sermon.

We know that obedient and abstaining and religious wives still exist in large numbers; we can perhaps assume that these qualities are more in evidence among wives of sixty than wives of thirty.

The love of the modern woman for her mate is conditional—but no more so than was the love of the old-fashioned man for his wife. It is conditional on his giving her the pecuniary support she once took as a favour, but now claims as a right; on his sharing most of his pleasures and amusements with her; and on his refraining from any sort of detailed interference with her management of the home. Moreover, as far as improvements in the home itself are concerned, improvements which he cannot afford to make, she looks to her own municipal and political votes to obtain them for her. This spirit of independence, which is likely to be even stronger in the next female generation than in the present one, will make it difficult—in fact, I think impossible—for the home as it was formerly known to be resuscitated.

Now whilst the various factors which previously held the home together have altered unrecognizably, even where they have not altogether disappeared, the institution of monogamy and the custom of housing families separately remain. Even if there were homes in plenty there would still be friction in the majority of them, owing to the habit of retaining individuals of a later generation in an environment planned by and for their remoter ancestors. But without homesteads there can be no homes; failing houses there are only lodgings; failing three or four rooms at a rent which the prospective tenant can afford, he must content himself with one. Without servants or cheap electric power large households are impossible, and we have witnessed the arrival of luxurious hotels, service-suites and flats, to supply substitutes for the rich. In addition, they have

clubs where they can pass the greater part of the day or night. 'At home' may be a mere manner of speech for the wealthy woman.

No such substitutes exist on an equally large scale for the lower middle classes and the poor. They still pass their lives in homes containing from one to seven rooms. They have no domestic auxiliaries nor cheap electrical power to draw on. In spite of the introduction of gas and electric light enormous numbers of women still depend on the coal fire and the oil lamp for heating and lighting purposes. In addition to the lack of adequate space and apparatus, the mother has a dominant problem with which to grapple ceaselessly; the adjustment of her income to the cost of living and to the family's food and clothing needs.

Voluntary family limitation, so-called 'birth control,' has been advocated, and is being tried on a small scale to reduce the mother's problem quantitatively. But it is children, not adults, who, as we have seen, 'make' a home. To reduce their number is to reduce the home life; to do without them is to destroy it. Birth control, though in certain respects it may, when sufficient knowledge renders it thoroughly practicable, overcome women's problems, cannot save the home. It may have precisely the opposite effect.

The development of individualism, the slackening of parental authority, the disappearance of carefully trained respect and affection for parents, the rapid growth of communal pleasures demanding no intelligent but merely passive participation from the individual, are further disrupting influences. The only antidote to these would be organized taught playing—

organized creative activity; the development or resuscitation of manual arts and crafts, which would help to make the home, provided it were sufficiently large, the centre of attraction. At present, in the majority of cases, the only alternatives for working men and women are the public house and the cinema; for children, the street.

One of the most important books which has recently appeared in England is 'The Young Delinquent,' by Professor Cyril Burt.[1] Its importance, in my opinion, is twofold. The author, a man of science and a professional psychologist, is employed by the London County Council to investigate social problems from the psychological point of view. The results of his researches and observations are presented partly in scientific journals. In consequence he is, on the one hand, able to illuminate social problems in an entirely new light for those who have to deal with them, and on the other, he provides his fellow psychologists with invaluable material, with facts instead of hypotheses.

Most of the problems raised and partly solved by Dr. Burt concern my present thesis, but many of them only indirectly. Some of them, however, such as the question of environmental influence on youthful delinquency, are essential to several of the points raised in the present chapter. As he took the precaution of analysing his cases side by side with a set of 'controls,' *i.e.* normal children living in close proximity and in similar economic circumstances to the delinquent children, the results of his investigation bear as much on conditions normal for the whole population, as on those applying particularly to the abnormal proportion.

Summarizing part of his inquiry into the environ-

mental conditions of the young delinquent, Dr. Burt writes as follows:—

'Altogether, vice in the home was noted in 26 per cent. of the cases; poverty with its concomitants in 53 per cent.; and defective discipline in 61 per cent. Poverty, however, as we have seen, together with defective family relationships, was noted with much frequency among the non-delinquent; hence, they have less significance than might at first be thought. On the other hand, among the non-delinquent vicious and ill-disciplined homes were comparatively rare, the proportions being only 6 and 12 per cent. respectively. As before, we can take the two sides into account by contrasting, not the raw percentages, but the calculated coefficients of associations. The order of importance is then somewhat changed. The coefficients are: for poverty, .15; for defective family relationships, .33; for vicious homes, .39; and for defective discipline, .55. The figures speak for themselves.'

His next summary of close interest for me deals with places where offences are committed. 'Of the total number of offences, the proportion committed in each place is as follows: (1) at home, 20.4 per cent.; (2) at school, 11.2 per cent.; (3) at the offender's place of business, 5.6 per cent.; (4) at shops and similar places (stores, warehouses, public libraries, etc., excluding places where the child himself is working), 9.1 per cent.; (5) on enclosed premises out of doors (goods-yards, railways, etc.), 6.8 per cent.; (6) in the streets, 34.7 per cent.; (7) in parks, fields, and other open spaces, 12.2 per cent. Thus more offences are committed in the street than in any other single place. Offences at

home, at school, or at work, together barely make up one-third of the total. And, taken as they stand, the figures clearly suggest that the supreme opportunity is generally found during the delinquent's vacant hours.'

So much for the street.

As a contrast of Dr. Burt's scientific and objective review of this social problem, we have the laments of propagandists on the present decay of the home. Eugenists advocate sweeping sterilization of the 'unfit' before science has yet established who these intended victims are; anti-eugenists see in poverty the great menace to civilization. Politicians, priests, and journalists, with but the dimmest kind of apprehension of the many questions involved (their number and diversity cannot be too emphatically stressed), advocate various vague political reforms, various forms of orthodox religion, various palliatives that shall be provided by government or charity, so long as they do not cost the tax-payer more than a trifle. All such programmes are quite useless. They remain entirely without influence on the general trend of the times, for the simple reason that they aim to remedy symptoms and not causes. The home of the past, like other institutions that have outlived their utility, cannot be the home of the present. But what the home of the future might be can only be known when its problems have been investigated and solved by the one reliable method available to human beings: scientific method.

REFERENCE TO CHAPTER X

Professor Cyril Burt: 'The Young Delinquent.'

Chapter II

BIRTH CONTROL

A million million spermatozoa
All of them alive:
Out of their cataclysm but one poor Noah
Dare hope to survive.
Aldous Huxley, 'Fifth Philosopher's Song.'

SUMMARY

1. The scientific congress on population problems.
2. Theories on population.
3. Propaganda for birth control.
4. Antagonism to careers for mothers.

CHAPTER XI

BIRTH CONTROL

A million million spermatozoa
All of them alive:
Out of their cataclysm but one poor Noah
Dare hope to survive.
ALDOUS HUXLEY, 'Fifth Philosopher's Song.'

An event of the year 1927 which will have an unpredictable influence on human history is the Congress at Geneva arranged for the discussion of population problems. The questions involved in a study of population from the quantitative and qualitative points of view are so closely entwined with individual, class, national, and international taboos, that most biological and sociological investigators have hitherto fought shy of them. Slowly, however, two lines of research have been developing which sooner or later were bound to converge and in their confluence to release something quite modern and profoundly important.

Certain sciences, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, and economics, have thrown up startling facts which, whether we like it or not, have plainly demonstrated our similarity to the savage, past and present, as well as to our acknowledged historical ancestors. Anthro-

pology has proved how little, if at all, our bodies have changed since paleolithic times. Ethnology has laid bare the sources of our religious and social habits. Economics, we learn, were a problem before the coming of the industrial age. While this intensive research has been widening the historical field to an almost illimitable extent, the sciences of genetics, physiology, and psychology have been doing their equally startling work. The rediscovery of the work of the obscure Abbot Mendel by Correns, de Vries, and Tschermak enabled geneticists to take a hand in experiments which had hitherto been left to Nature or to God. Morgan has become the Deity presiding over the destinies of several million fruit-flies—(*Drosophila*). It is idle to speculate what Darwin's views on the facts he observed would have been, had he known of Mendelian heredity. But it is unquestionable that the proof of Mendel's theories has thrown a searchlight on selection and related problems. The mechanism of heredity became clear as the secret of the chromosomes, bearers of hereditary characters, was exposed. And the chromosome theory was found to be just as applicable to human beings as to plants and other animals. Physiology and psychology have done more than anything else to demonstrate the foundations of the 'brotherhood of man.' Such laws as they have revealed have been shown to be equally applicable to all human races, white, black, brown, or 'heathen Chinee.'

The internationalism of science has developed in spite of national antagonisms with their accompanying hates and wars. In consequence it has now been dis-

covered possible to arrange a scientific congress at which men of various nationalities could discuss the population problem from the scientific and therefore international point of view. On such an occasion the layman must hold his tongue; it is precisely the scientific knowledge he does not possess which makes a conference of this kind at all possible.

If, however, the layman wishes to obtain some idea of the matters involved, he can do so owing to the work of one or two men completely in possession of the facts discovered by the sciences mentioned. Among such men I place Carr-Saunders first. In his large work on the population problem,[1] and in the small summary of it[2] issued for popular reading, he has pointed out certain incontrovertible facts which we must assimilate before we can completely approach the issues concerned. Some of the facts I have already discussed, but it will be necessary, for the sake of the argument to be developed, to refer to them again.

From the very earliest times the desirability of regulating numbers in any human community was recognized as soon as that community had agreed on a certain standard of living for all its members. Birth control was not a matter of morals but of economics. Wars, famine and disease only contributed to such regulation in a comparatively insignificant manner. If an area was over-populated one or several of these scourges could reduce numbers for a time. As soon, however, as the disaster was at an end, the population increased again, often beyond its original size. Wars and disease often came about in an area which was by no means over-populated; the former caused by the ambitions

of rulers or religious fanaticism, the latter through ignorance and defective hygiene.

In savage communities and non-Christian countries three methods of regulating numbers were customary. They were abortion, infanticide, and abstention from sexual intercourse, either practised concurrently or alternatively. The evidence for this is abundant. Christianity made the first two of these methods criminal offences, though it did not entirely eradicate them. For abstention from intercourse it preferred to substitute celibacy or asceticism; where these were not possible it strenuously discouraged early marriage for all but the noble.

Owing to the inadequacy of these substitutes for the older and cruder methods, there were in Europe periodic fluctuations, leading to over-population. Such was the case in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But 'what is important is that in general the determination of the people to maintain the standard of living brought about adjustment.' Where this could not be achieved, the results were often disastrous, as, for instance, in Ireland in the eighteenth century. 'The potato was introduced about 1585, and when taken into cultivation throughout the country could have enabled a larger population to subsist at a higher standard of living. So degraded, however, did the social conditions become, that the introduction of the potato merely enabled a larger population to subsist at the lowest standard which would support life. . . . The influence of the Catholic Church, which has been directed against contraceptive practices, may have tended to produce over-population in Ireland. More

commonly, however, over-population arises in this period (on the passing away of old practices) as a result of a spirit of apathy and listlessness. Under such circumstances, which are usually the result of social oppression or political misfortunes, no effort is made to keep up the standard of living, and in consequence the machinery designed to restrict increase breaks down.'

'We have now to ask why the wage earners should, if they do not limit fertility by postponing marriage, limit fertility by conscious restriction of their families? This is not an easy question to answer. As there are no barriers to marriage, so to the production of a large family there are no barriers in the form of social conditions or customs which must be conformed to. There is apparently no hindrance to the production of as many children as can be fed—that is to say, to the increase of population to the level at which life can just be supported. Such an increase, however, does not take place. To understand why it is so we must first realize how powerful the desire to better the social conditions and to raise the standard of living has become among the wage earners. . . . We may say that this determination becomes translated into a system of family limitation, and that the decline in the birth-rate which is due to conscious limitation has been in correspondence with changing economic conditions. The previous rate of increase was no longer desirable in the interests of the wage-earning classes, and it has been checked. Nevertheless it has not been checked by a fully conscious realization of the position. At the most, there has only been a semi-conscious understanding of what is involved. . . . The influence of

factor legislation in restricting the employment of children has been to render large families of less economic advantage. Again, among more highly paid sections of the wage-earning classes certain influences, which are not economic at all, but rather social, have also tended towards reduction in fertility.' To some of these influences I have already referred.

I have quoted these extracts at length for two purposes. The first was to lay bare some proven facts and the method of treating the whole question in a scientific spirit. The second was to contrast this spirit with nationalist or political and individual attitudes to so-called birth control. We know now that some form of birth control has been more or less consciously practised by the human race almost from the beginning of communal life. But politicians and priests who oppose its latest developments would have us believe that the whole matter was invented by Malthus. The difference in the scientific and the political or propagandist approach to the question is extremely important. We have here problems on which both scientists and politicians may exercise their judgment; we see plainly that only the former are adequately equipped to do so. It is to be hoped that the Geneva conference, called as it is as a preliminary to further scientific research, will lift the whole matter out of the obscurity of more or less haphazard and personal action.

Before this conference was planned, however, efforts had been made by individuals, chiefly women, to assist the working classes to a conscious limitation of their families if they desired it. The invention of a biological instrument of contraception which could be

used without fear of dangerous consequences, at first released wealthier and more intelligent women from the necessity of undergoing abortions. It provided them with a weapon, and hence with free choice in the matter of child-bearing. At present various private organizations are trying, in countries where hostile influence is not too strong for them, to pass this weapon on to poorer mothers. Obviously the importance of this cannot be exaggerated. Political emancipation by itself, though advantageous in some ways, could hardly suffice to secure a higher standard of living for mothers. I have tried to show that in many instances the vote, shared by mothers and spinsters alike, operates to some extent in favour of the unmarried as against the married woman. But the ability to limit the number of citizens they choose to contribute to the State for the first time confers political importance on mothers. Moreover, as neither the mothers nor the politicians have the necessary knowledge to use their powers wisely for the common good, it seems clear that in default of scientific guidance both may make the gravest possible mistakes.

A test case which is likely to be cited for some time to come, occurred in 1926. Of all professions in England, that of teaching is perhaps the most retrograde. Not only teachers themselves but those who appoint them tend, for obvious reasons, to be of the stable and unprogressive type. They are obliged to uphold and to pass on to their charges the traditions and beliefs of Church and State. Modern biology is not taught in the schools, and therefore will not be learnt by those responsible for them, except by a few isolated persons

with scientific interests. It is true that the London County Council Education Department now employs trained psychologists to test and classify and advise on the children in its schools; as far as I am aware the tests are not repeated on teachers or inspectors. Apart from the clergy, there is probably no class in the country who still believe as firmly in the religion they profess as members of administrative bodies. These people, consciously or unconsciously, are one and all disciples of the Apostle Paul, and have become penetrated by propaganda based on his teaching with regard to sex and marriage. Changed economic conditions, the results of scientific research, these are facts which weigh little against the load of tradition and prejudice in the opposite scale.

I quote the 'Observer'[3] of 21st November 1926, in illustration of this point:—

MOTHERHOOD AND TEACHING

Headmistress retired at Twickenham

Twickenham Higher Education Committee have decided to dispense with the services of Dr. I. Turnadge, who for four years has been Headmistress of Twickenhan Girls' Secondary School, in view of her having become a mother.

Mrs. Turnadge is a Doctor of Philosophy, a Bachelor of Science, and a Fellow of the Linnaean Society, and has had eighteen years' experience on the scholastic profession. In a letter to the Education Committee she stated that she felt that her experience as a mother would have been an additional asset to her in dealing with the girls. The Committee have given her six months' additional leave of absence, making twelve months in all.

The Girls' County School at Twickenham is the largest in South-West Middlesex, and Dr. Turnadge's salary was £600 a year.

Dr. Turnadge, seen by a Press Representative yesterday, said: 'When I was married in 1925 the Middlesex Education Committee suggested that I should retire from the position of Headmistress, but the Twickenham Higher Education Committee urged that my removal would be against the educational interests of the School, and at their suggestion I was allowed to remain.

'On receiving an intimation a few months ago that they desired me to retire, I asked the Twickenham Higher Education Committee to allow me to attend before the Governors so that I could put my case before them, but they would not allow me to do so, and instead asked me to meet the Mayor, Dr. R. L. Leeson, who has taken a strong line against me.

'Dr. Leeson, in his letter to me, stated that the Committee was of opinion that the cares and responsibilities of motherhood are not compatible with the welfare of the School. When I went to see him he told me that all I was out for was pounds, shillings and pence, but I am glad to know that the whole of the members of the Committee are not of this opinion, and that some of them urged that I should remain.

'My married life is not the business of the Governors. So long as I make proper provision for my child it is not their business. Many mothers have to entrust the care of their children to-day to others.'

Before going to Twickenham Dr. Turnadge was science lecturer at Stockwell Training College, and also senior science mistress at the Godolphin and Latymer School, Hammersmith.

Here is another instance:—[4]

L. E. A. dismisses all women teachers on marriage. War shortage. Appeal to married women to return during the absence of the men. Mrs. T. married,

children growing up, returned to 'take the place of Mr. So-and-so.' Mr. So-and-so happily demobbed, returned, Mrs. T. dismissed. Three months later asked to re-engage 'till the end of the year.' Did so. Applied for permanent appointment—refused. 'L.E.A. no intention of departing from custom of not employing married women.' Left at the end of the year. Shortage still acute. H.T's. told by L. E. A. to find suitable people to fill vacancies. Colleague wrote asking Mrs. T. to apply. Application rejected because she was married. Shortly after L.E.A. wrote urging her to return on Supply Staff 'till the end of the year.' Is now serving. Two months before the end of the year asked if the appointment could be made permanent. Told 'No.' A month later asked by the L.E.A. to renew engagement for another year. Is now uncertain whether at the end of that time she may be re-engaged or turned adrift!

The economic aspects of the matter are intimately interwoven with physiological ones. The public argument is based on economic grounds because to stray from them would be to raise instantly the question of birth control and other tabooed subjects. It is probable that women teachers of Dr. Turnadge's type are from an early age rather more intelligent than their contemporaries; that they possess and develop more patience and other qualities valuable to eventual mothers. They have social ambition: the desire to raise their social as well as their economic standards, and to maintain both on the higher level. One may surmise that the children who may be born to such women teachers, provided the mothers can maintain their situation, will share the advantages won by the parent. But it is perfectly clear that persecution of teachers will either relegate them to

the unmarried class or will drive them to birth control. As a definite instance of the point of view to which they are inevitably forced, I will quote the following:—

IS MOTHERHOOD MARTYRDOM?[5]

To the Editor of the 'Daily Express'

Sir,—I am married and have retained my position as a schoolmistress. Before marriage my husband and I agreed that we did not want children, and would not have any. If I had children I should be fond of them, and should consider it my duty, and my pleasure, to devote myself to them, but one cannot love those who do not exist, and I realize that we, at least, are happier without children.

Motherhood takes all one's best years, if it is properly fulfilled—for the training of a child is not a matter of days—and, alas, this is a selfish age. We do not want to be martyrs; we 'want to be happy!' When I see children ill, unhappy, and lacking educational advantages that their parents struggle to obtain for them and yet fail, I am glad that the lot has fallen to me in a fair place, and that marriage has made no more difference in my life than in that of my husband.

Motherhood entails too much sacrifice (vide the headmistress of the County School, Twickenham) and, therefore, naturally the birth-rate is low.

J. L.

Chiswick.

The letter to the 'Daily Express' is important from several points of view. It shows, first of all, the attitude of mind either deliberately or unconsciously fostered in girls training for a teaching career. It shows the aversion to motherhood which springs from an ethical and religious education grossly ignorant of or in-

different to biological knowledge. It shows the spiritual poverty such an education infallibly leads to; the desire to avoid 'sacrifice' at all costs. For although motherhood in the past has often been a martyrdom, owing to the enslavement of women secured by institutions and systems that dominated and terrorized them, it can never, even at its best, be 'child's play.' In enabling women to avoid all responsibilities, in emphasizing the division between sexual enjoyment and parental responsibilities, birth control raises grave problems indeed. It may be useful that such distinctions should be made plain; it may be of fundamental importance to the human race to have its vocational mothers segregated in this manner from its accidental and unwilling mothers. As the numbers of mothers dwindle they will undoubtedly be able to obtain for themselves advantages which can be wrested from society by monopolists conscious of their indispensability. But every woman who refuses motherhood is curtailing her psychological as well as her physiological development in a manner which may have serious consequences to herself. I give two further examples:—[6]

> Married women to make way for single ones. Let us see how it works out in practice. It is interesting to recall the case of the St. Pancras appointment of a woman doctor to their Maternity Centre. Regret was expressed that the doctor was unmarried, but when she remedied this defect some time later she was dismissed because she was a married woman. A committee which was appointed to consider the filling of the position recommended that a man be appointed, as women would sooner consult a man than a woman.

There is a considerable correspondence in a provincial paper protesting against giving a single girl (a dentist) a job at £450 a year. It ought, they say, to go to a married man. But if it had been a single man who had got it would there have been any complaint? It shows that the objection is to women as a sex and not merely to married ones.

Take another case. One of the London Colleges advertised for a Lecturer in Domestic Economy, stating that no married woman, or one who was engaged to be married, need apply. Finally the position was given to a man.

In April 1927 a Bill[7] was introduced into Parliament to 'prevent the refusal to employ women in the public service by reason only of their being married.' An almost empty House rejected it, and the arguments on both sides were rather more futile than one would have expected, even from Members of Parliament, at this time. The Bill seems to have been almost directly the result of the Turnadge case, and it is true that the necessity of retaining women in the teaching profession after marriage and childbirth is a greater necessity than the matter of their employment in any other business or profession. A decade or two would plainly demonstrate all that the country would lose by their rejection.

I am quite convinced that with the granting of votes to women at twenty-one, such a Bill will be passed, perhaps in time to avoid the greater disasters, but this does not alter the fact that public opinion at the present time is forcing the more intelligent of the younger women into a choice between unlegalised unions or even marriage only possible for any lengthy period

by the practice of birth control, and the old-fashioned unpaid career of wifehood and motherhood under increasingly difficult economic conditions.

The final weighing-up of the resultant advantages and disadvantages to the community and to the individual demands greater knowledge and more facts than we have at present. But once science begins to take a hand in such matters of practical politics, these will become increasingly available.

Carr-Saunders: 'The Population Problem.'
'Population.'
'The Observer,' Nov. 21, 1926.
'Daily Express,' Nov. 25, 1926.
A. S. Byett, L.L.A.: 'The Married Woman Teacher.'
Eleanor Barton, J.P.: 'Married Women and Paid Positions.'
17 Geo. 5 Married Women (Employment).

Chapter 12

SUBSIDIZED MOTHERHOOD

Ah! monsieur le savant, ne pourriez-vous point me dire comment les enfants se font?
Non, mon ami, mais si vous voulez je vous dirai ce que les philosophes ont imaginé, c'est-à-dire comment les enfants ne se font point.

Voltaire, 'L'homme aux quarante écus.'

SUMMARY

1. Birth control alone cannot help.
2. Subsidies and some fallacies about them.
3. Differential fertility.
4. Relation between fertility, economic status and intelligence in men and women.
5. Physiological evidence regarding women.
6. Population can be improved by lowering the economic position of richer classes as well as raising that of the poorer.
7. Heredity and environment.
8. Disease and heredity.
9. Inheritance of intelligence.
10. Identical twins.
11. Eugenics and individuals.
12. Measures of hygiene.

13. Bearing of this investigation on problems of motherhood.
14. Education preparatory to vocational motherhood.
15. Pregnant or suckling mother. Diet, stimulants, sexual intercourse, occupation and recreation.
16. Psychological relations between mothers and children.

CHAPTER XII

SUBSIDIZED MOTHERHOOD

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The demand for the right to practise birth control, like the demand for political rights and the demand to earn a living in equal economic competition with men, can be classed as being all specifically feminine in character. But the question of family limitation is connected with problems which have no existence for women who have not borne and do not contemplate bearing children. Human motherhood as understood and practised by civilized peoples cannot be too closely compared with the reproduction of their kind by lower animals. Study of parental behaviour in the highest apes, such as the chimpanzee, has clearly shown that animal care for offspring ends, more or less, where human care has to begin. Investigation into the parental behaviour of uncivilized or semi-civilized races can only have an indirect bearing on our own problems.

What we are concerned with now is the position of

the mother and the family in communities tending to become more and more industrialized and increasingly complex organizations.

I have tried to show that at present the home as an institution is threatened by a general feminine trend away from home-life as hitherto understood, and that those women who have until now existed more or less exclusively for the purpose of bearing and rearing children are rapidly deciding to limit their families. I have also tried to show that the home cannot possibly retain all the attributes which we still associate with the word, unless there are more or less constantly children in it. However necessary to the welfare of all human beings a modicum of birth control may be and is, it seems to me quite clear that as a solution of present and future problems it will not suffice. However scientifically you investigate population; however much research you undertake with a view to checking its over-development, you will not cover all the ground. Psychology has moved and is moving so rapidly with regard to all other aspects of communal life that the home cannot possibly evade its influence. In reading such evidence as that produced by Professor Burt,[1] for example, one is struck by the reiterated instances where co-operation between educational authorities and parents is essential. One knows the average schoolmaster's opinion of parents and particularly of mothers. But if we give over to the schoolmaster and schoolmistress the whole question of dealing with children (which is highly improbable) there still remain the infants; there remains the foetus in the mother's body, which at least will not be amenable to their powers.

More and more evidence is accumulating daily to show that the problems of motherhood must be approached by investigators in exactly the same manner as all others of modern civilization. We want facts and statistics and research; we want to admit that 'raw' untutored motherhood will no longer suffice for the health and welfare of mothers or children; we want to shift our emotional as well as our intellectual approach to the whole subject.

It has already been agreed in several countries that some sort of organized financial assistance for the breeding woman of the nation seems to be required. The two thousand infant welfare clinics established in England by the Government recognized the need for providing, not only milk and other food for necessitous mothers and infants, but medical and hygienic advice. The giving of such advice by experts is an admission that the mother must be taught her job. Assuming that in due course she learns it, one may perhaps envisage her then as a 'qualified' mother, just as other trained women workers are qualified architects or doctors. But in all trades or professions employing qualified workers, clear rules of professional conduct are laid down. Could such rules be formulated with regard to motherhood?

Before the State is bound to give financial assistance on a large scale to its citizen mothers, the Government concerned or its advisers will have to consider a formidable programme.

Merely from the economic point of view it might be worth inquiring whether any form of subsidy will be a good investment for the community or an extremely

bad and dangerous one. The sort of half-baked social reform advocated by people who have overlooked or ignored this point is illustrated by a quotation from 'The Woman in the Little House,' by Mrs. Leonora Eyles.[2] This little book is a magnificent exposure of conditions as they are in working-class British homes to-day; its author seems to be a woman of superb courage. But elsewhere[3] she advocates osteopathy, which in America, where it is more widely practised than in Britain, is responsible for a large number of deaths annually; she believes that cancer is 'set up' by constipation, an opinion shared only by those who have no knowledge of modern research on malignant tumours; she believes that mothers can *at present* treat their children by psycho-therapy, to which one can only reply by quoting the saying, 'Physician, heal thyself!' To leave a child's mind to the treatment of its mother, in all but a minute percentage of cases nowadays, would be about as safe as to allow her to excise its tonsils with a pair of pliers.

'If the State paid the mothers to look after their children,' writes Mrs. Eyles, 'there would be fewer children's hospitals needed, practically no reformatories or Children's Courts (except where the mother is vicious, and the child has to be protected from her; but a considerable delving into the life-histories of delinquent or destitute children has driven me to the conclusion that mothers are practically always vicious only through poverty or tragedy), much less Poor Relief, about one-tenth of the prisons or asylums.'

The State, therefore, is to pay syphilitic, imbecile, and deaf-and-dumb mothers; or women who are carriers

of diphtheria, typhoid fever, or haemophilia, though they may be perfectly healthy themselves. The healthy woman married to an unhealthy man, to a drunkard or a drug-taker, or to a man of general bodily or mental instability, will be subsidized by the State; and the man will go on giving her children merrily—having no longer to worry about their support—in fact, the more children he has, the more comfortable will be his home and the more plentiful his food.

You may be in a dark room with the window shut and the blind drawn down; in your impatience you may fling up the blind and tear open the window; every one will applaud this action if the air outside is sweet and clean, but if it happens to be full of 'poison gas,' the inmates of the room will not live to condemn your precipitation. . . .

Investigation has shown that, within a given community or nation, a higher economic standard means a reduced fertility. There appears to be a definite relation between individual intelligence, economic position, and fertility. The intelligent person tends to rise above 'the station to which it has pleased God to call him.' But this rise involves a different estimate of his economic position to that of his mental inferior. His standard of living is different. In the case of a young man with his way to make in a profession there is generally a long period of apprenticeship, followed by some years of meagre earnings. Academic schooling or teaching involve a certain amount of segregation. When finally the ambitious riser has attained the position which he considers will enable him to marry and launch a family, he is no longer in his first youth. In

addition, he wishes his children to do at least as well as he himself has done. He realizes the necessity to give them a good and therefore expensive education. He will in consequence only have as many children as he considers himself able to support adequately. Though births will be fewer among the richer classes of the community, the infantile death-rate will also be lower than that of their economic inferiors.

'There is another feature of modern civilization which tends towards the acceptance of the principle of family limitation. The raising of the status of women has been one of the chief characteristics of recent social evolution. Women have become better educated and more independent; their position has in every respect become more dignified. Observation seems to show that where this change has been most marked, there the principle of family limitation has been most readily accepted. Compare, for example, the position of women in those districts where the cotton industry is predominant with districts where mining is the only industry. In the former, where many women are employed, their status is distinctly superior to what it is in the latter, where there is little or no opportunity for women to gain an independent position. And we find the birth-rate to be far higher in the latter than in the former.*So, too, if we compare not one district with another but one class with another, we find that it is among middle-class people, where the improvement in the position of women has been chiefly notice-

*It may be added that among textile workers a high infantile mortality accompanies the low birth-rate, whereas in the community, as a whole, the opposite is the case.—(*Author's Note.*)

able, that the decline in the birth-rate has been most marked. There can be little doubt in fact that the increasing dignity of the position of women in society is a factor leading to the acceptance of the principle of family limitation.'[4]

But apart from the economic arguments cited above, there are other reasons why the women engaged on all but the most repetitive form of manual work should have small families if they elect to have children at all. A list of famous women writers, let us say (and this is one of the few professions a woman may carry on at home), might give instructive information.[5] The female physiology causes women to suffer a regular cyclical change. Miss Watchorn[6] has shown that there is a drop in the magnesium in the blood plasma at the onset of menstruation, when many women feel physical faintness, and in a degree varying from individual to individual mental distress and depression. Similar changes in the constitution of the blood plasma during pregnancy are also being studied. It is already established that the foetus in the early stages has a parasitic relation to the mother. As far as is at present known, certain cancer tests on the blood of menstruating or pregnant women give a positive result, though in the ordinary way the 'answer is in the negative.'

Biochemical work on these lines is at present in its infancy. But there is already reasonable evidence to suppose (though not definitely to assert) that the female constitution lays a handicap on feminine nerves and intellect which the male constitution does not have to bear. The reserve powers of a woman are called upon

to deal with a strain by which a man is unaffected, and in consequence will be less adequate to meet a special emergency or even the constant wear and tear of active and responsible mental work. In these circumstances she will not be anxious to add to her burdens by beginning a family while continuing her career. The more intelligent woman, of a higher economic standing than the woman manual labourer, will of course appreciate her own problem more clearly and take steps to deal with it more thoroughly. As far as personal experience is concerned, I found myself during four years of keen competition with men (in journalism and on an economic basis of strict equality) subject to stresses caused by my physiological constitution.

Certain students attribute the downfall of past civilizations such as those of Greece and Rome to the differential fertility of masters and slaves. On the other hand, among the Chinese[7] improvement in economic conditions is accompanied by an increase in the size of families, partly no doubt because far more children born are reared when parental intelligence is higher and the income proportionately greater. The Chinese system of examination for the higher posts in the State and of pecuniary rewards for success in such examinations tends to favour the intelligent at the expense of their mental inferiors.

Any schemes of family endowment for the purpose of increasing population must be proceeded by a realization that a rise in economic status will tend to lower the birth-rate. 'If we provide for the children of poor parents milk free or below cost price, day nurseries, infant clinics, free meals when at school,' writes Carr-

Saunders,[8] 'are we not trying to raise the standard of living for them, and in so doing are we not weakening the motive to practise family limitation? The answer is that those who are helped in this fashion have not yet begun to practise it on any considerable scale. . . . Now one of the reasons why poor people do not limit their families is that their standard of living is very low. There is nothing to maintain. To a certain extent, therefore, the effect of these measures of assistance will be to raise them to a position worth maintaining; and the practice of family limitation may thus be expected to follow as a result. . . . Family endowment has in fact been advocated in France as a method of increasing the population. . . . It is perhaps worthy of notice that the births in France in the first quarter of 1924 were less than those in the first quarter of 1923. On general grounds we may expect a result which is the exact opposite of that hoped for in France, and feared in this country.'

If an increase in the income of the poor lowers their fertility, the argument against 'encouraging' them and thus fostering a numerical menace to their 'superiors,' of which certain eugenists with a class-bias are so fond, is destroyed. One way to increase the size of the royal families and aristocracies to which such eugenists are so devoted would be to lower their standard of living to a considerable extent. For while the standard for the whole community is rising simultaneously, the 'lower' classes will still out-breed the 'upper.' Among the Jews of London, for instance, those of Whitechapel have a higher birth-rate than those of Hampstead—but as Whitechapel Jews rise high in the economic and

social scale, they still have larger families than the more cultured members of the community among whom they have come to reside, and who, in their turn, migrate from a middle-class commercial environment to a professional or pseudo-aristocratic one.

But now let us consider more closely the qualitative question. Assuming for a moment that our future governors have decided on the number of citizens they wish to produce in the various social grades, what will be their attitude to the kind of citizens to be selected? At the present stage of knowledge, two methods of obtaining strong healthy races are available: improvement of racial stocks by selective breeding, or improvment of environmental conditions by hygienic measures. In the plant and animal kingdoms, for example, the science of genetics reigns over the art of breeding. To obtain the required plants or cattle, those concerned take advantage of the already considerable knowledge with regard to Mendelian laws of heredity in order to fortify old strains or to invent new ones. Those who would apply similar methods to man are the so-called eugenists. The arguments for and against Eugenics are mainly arguments in favour of or against eugenists. They can at present be postponed. Let us examine what is known of the mechanism of human heredity, in order to see how far we might, if we wished, be able to influence it.

Although experimental breeding of human animals has until now been out of the question, there is a considerable amount of knowledge available with regard to human heredity. This is mainly due to the observation that human heredity can be brought under Men-

delian principles. Since Galton[9] first began collecting various facts about his fellow men, statistical evidence, with regard to the inheritance of disease, particularly, has rapidly accumulated. Life Insurance Companies, such as the Metropolitan Life Assurance Company of New York, have availed themselves of these methods for ascertaining, among other facts, the probable chances of surviving until various ages of their numerous clients. Apart from such work, other lines of investigation have centred around the pedigrees of families for several generations. In many cases such mapping out of ancestry has shown the presence of hereditary disease, such as haemophilia. One of the most interesting examples of this kind is the pedigree of the two mad Bavarian kings, Ludwig II. and Otto I., given by Lenz[10] after Strohmeyer. These brothers were descended, both through maternal and paternal lines, from the mad Wilhelm the Younger, of Braunschweig-Luneburg. Wilhelm had six different lines of descendants, in many of whom the mental taint was carried as a so-called recessive factor, until the marriage of these kings' parents in the ninth generation produced, in the tenth, the children in whom it broke forth once more.

Whilst certain diseases are transmitted through the germ plasm directly from parents to children, or from the grandparents through the parents (who may appear quite sound themselves) to the grandchildren 'unto the third and fourth generations,' others, including most of the more serious afflictions, may not be inherited directly as such, but the tendency to develop them may be. There are thus people with a tendency

to develop tuberculosis or cancer or kidney or heart disease more easily than others, though it does not necessarily follow that they will do so.

There is already quite enough evidence to show that the marriage of two mentally deficient people will generally produce mentally deficient children. The children of deaf-mutes will also be deaf and dumb. As far as I can see, there is no reason whatever why such people should be allowed to reproduce, though all sexual intercourse need not necessarily be denied them if the community does not suffer by it.

Syphilis is not an inherited disease. It is an infection transmitted by the mother to the child in her womb; if a syphilitic woman marries a healthy man, her child will still be likely to be born with the disease; and as the spirochete is introduced into a normal person almost entirely by sexual intercourse, a perfectly pure woman can be damaged by a man who has married her while knowingly or unwittingly harbouring it. It seems to me obvious that no human being need nowadays have this disease. Although it is declining, it still needs the greatest possible assistance from responsible persons to hasten its end.

But let us turn from pathology to a pleasanter branch of scientific knowledge. The inheritance of mental qualities is a matter of fundamental importance. Galton[11] was the first to show that there appeared to be strong grounds for supposing that intellectual ability was inheritable. Lenz[12] gives some striking examples of the inheritance of musical talent. The best of these is a diagram showing marked musical ability in five generations of the Bach family; not one of the nineteen

children of Johann Sebastian, the great Bach, was unmusical. There was also inheritance of musical ability in the families of Mozart and Beethoven. Lenz considers the fact that musical people do not tend to mate with unmusical ones a contributory factor to these results. The Darwin family, of whom Galton himself was a member, is another splendid illustration of the inheritance of ability, in this case scientific attainment.

'Miss Allen studied 48 families, each of whom had produced a particularly bright child. The age of the latter ranged from 3-10 years; their IQ's from 133 to 190 (median 156). Only one of the families belongs to the old American stock on both sides; 70 per cent. of them are Jewish. Of the fathers 95 per cent. were in clerical, semi-intellectual, or (70 per cent.) professional work. The mental traits of all the near relations were studied; only one of the sibs tested below IQ 100; the mean was 127.' ('P.P. Journal of Heredity,' vol. 18, No. 3.)[18]

On these facts it might seem to be fair enough to decide that the man destined for greatness has simply drawn a winning number in the lottery of inheritance, and that his fellow creatures can neither help nor hinder him in rising to his splendid destiny. There are then no 'mute inglorious Miltons' nor 'village Hampdens.' In view of the fact, however, that a great man may also inherit a mean constitution, it is clear that the obligations of humanity towards its leaders can be greatly under-estimated. Darwin suffered most of his life from a disease which would have handicapped him terribly in earning his living; fortunately his private means were sufficient to enable him to work comfort-

ably and live in the most suitable surroundings. While the great man may and often does inherit splendid health as well as a first-class brain, the opposite may be true. Particularly when we come to the not so great, whose work is yet of tremendous value to humanity, we must consider environmental influences carefully.

Environment is not confined to appropriate nourishment and stimulus to the brain, but particularly in the early years, in foetal and infant life, it concerns the body primarily. I suppose that just as young rats can be poisoned by receiving too much vitamin A, so an over-rich diet or pampering and coddling may prove fatal to human babies. It would, however, be a mistake to pretend that the majority of our infants are at present exposed to this risk.

In order to test the relative importance of 'Nature and Nurture,' as he called them, Galton[14] endeavoured to investigate the similarities and dissimilarities of twins. His methods, however, were not sufficiently rigorous for our time. He failed to discriminate clearly, for example, between twins resulting from the fertilization of two ova, and those born from one ovum, which has split in two and who are known as 'identical' twins, because they are not only always of the same sex, but also resemble one another like 'peas from a pod.' Often the whorls and spirals on the fingers of one are mirror-images of those of the other! Professor Pembrey investigated a pair of such twins by the usual methods, such as measurement, weight, comparison of eye-colour, and microscopic examination of hairs, and could find no other single difference between them beyond the fact

that the finger-prints of one were the looking-glass replicas of the other's.

But so long as these identicals are brought up in the same home, in exactly the same surroundings and conditions, science cannot learn from them exactly how far Nature competes with Nurture in human development. In order to discover this more exactly it is necessary to find pairs who have grown up each in surroundings markedly different from those of the other. The American geneticist Muller[15] was fortunate in finding such a pair, and investigated their case with interesting results. His method was based on the latest physiological and psychological tests. Both the twins co-operated whole-heartedly in the investigation.

The full paper published in the 'Journal of Heredity' is too long to be quoted here. The results may be briefly summarized. The pair investigated were sisters, B. and J. At the time of the inquiry they were thirty years of age. J., who lived in Arizona, was married and a mother. B. was single and resident in Wyoming. Their weight was exactly equal; their teeth showed identical imperfections; they both had an unusual ankle prominence. They were generally ill at the same time. J.'s husband said it did not matter to him which one he was with.

They were both very intelligent. In the intelligence tests they made nearly identical scores. (B. 156 points, J. 153—B. 64 points, J. 62). But in their respective will-power and their emotional reactions they varied greatly. B. wrote a much better letter than J., although she had had an inferior education; J. loved children, though her twin did not much care for them; in girl-

hood B. had had leanings towards Catholicism, while J. after an illness turned to Christian Science.

As infants both had remained with their mother for the first two weeks, while neighbours nursed and fed them; the mother nursed neither. They were then separated permanently (except for one week together at their mother's, when a few months old) and did not see nor communicate with one another until they were eighteen years of age.

The differences between them were differences due to environment and education during childhood. Their appearance and health, which were so strikingly similar, were hereditary and not influenced by the marked differences in their upbringing. The investigation suggested that such factors as will, emotions, moral outlook, religious fervour and the reverse, could be influenced by environment.

'The demonstration that the determination of mind in civilized communities is by no means purely and simply a matter of the hereditary elements,' says the author, in concluding his paper, 'should not be a source of discouragement and despair, for in the characters the genetic indetermination of which is found to be great, lies the hopeful field for the educator, and for the agent of social reconstruction.'

This work is being repeated as far as possible, and before the above results can be accepted absolutely they would have to be confirmed on a statistical scale. But the importance of the line indicated and of the method of research is obvious.

Sufficient is already known of human heredity to make it possible for Ministries of Health to establish in

all countries advisory bureaus for prospective parents. Such bureaus should in fact be proposed simultaneously with subsidies for parenthood. I am convinced that they will in due course appear in various progressive European countries, and perhaps in the United States, chiefly because the economic argument in their favour is so overwhelming. Their advent depends chiefly on the progress of public opinion. It may take a long time before humanity ceases to regard the hypothetical fate of individuals in a suppositious heaven or hell as of more importance than the fate of the next generation or two of its descendants. As a striking example of the sort of thing that can happen nowadays, I will give an instance of a fortunately rare case which occurred at a certain hospital. Within a comparatively short time five children of one family were brought to that hospital either dying from or crippled by meningitis. The occurrence was so extraordinary that a 'carrier' of the germ, meningococcus, was suspected. Investigation revealed the tragic fact that the father of the children had a throat which was a veritable meningococcus farm. I do not know whether he was prevailed upon to cease his procreative activities, since the fact could obviously only be pointed out to him. Such extreme cases are fortunately very rare.

If eugenical procreation were ever even partially approved by law, the community would certainly require the most stringent safeguards against the activities of cranks of all kinds. As certain ordained and even lay preachers of eugenics prove, this science holds potentialities of great danger. Let the class-conscious or race-proud individual with a capacity for

stating sophistries with all the weight of learned argument, but with a mere smattering of scientific knowledge, attain any influence in this matter, and those whom he fears or hates (the same thing) will fare hardly. One would require a certificate of psychological purity even in the case of certain scientists before one would entrust them with so dangerous a profession as that of human geneticist.

With regard to environmental improvements we are not only in a much safer position, but we can already put them into practice. Measures of hygiene concerned with the ending of infectious water-borne diseases, with the sterilization of milk, with the supply of ultra-violet radiation or of diet rich in vitamins are already practised on a huge scale. There can no longer be any question of their success. It may not be possible for the race to produce a Newton, a Shakespeare, a Bach, an Einstein, more often than once in several centuries; it is no longer inevitable that we should lose such potential men in infancy. Not a single argument can be raised against the outpouring of money to the uttermost limit on all schemes for the welfare of the children now living or yet to be born; nor is there any reason why in a civilized country one mother should die of puerperal fever.

It is clear that the 'good' mother of successful offspring is one who has not merely transmitted to them intelligence and normal health by the usual genetic channels, but one who has herself enjoyed acquaintance with a sound tradition and has taken care to pass it on to them intact by means of communication and example. The same applies, of course, to

the 'good' father. While, therefore, it will be the business of those concerned to see that all future citizens are given the advantage of this knowledge regarding the importance of environment in character development, it might be to every one's benefit to make especially sure that the future mothers will not lack it.

If this had been accomplished it is presumed that young girls arriving at the appropriate age for child-bearing and choosing to exercise the maternal function, would demand a favourable environment for themselves and their future children before bringing them into the world. Until definite selection of potential mothers could be practised, it would be necessary to lay the basis of maternal knowledge in the case of all healthy girls. When considering the subject of women's careers, I tried to show what a great deal could be done for the home by women trained to grapple with its architectural and engineering problems. It is not too much to say that every article used, every piece of furniture, all domestic utensils, ornaments, and the whole equipment, would be the better for feminine study. The subject extends to most of the interesting aspects of applied science and art. Such study would be in no way wasted on women who elected spinsterhood in preference to motherhood, since it would in itself constitute equipment for a successful career.

We know that maternal instincts and emotions, even when strong and benevolently expressed, cannot in themselves avail the uninstructed mother either during pregnancy or during the earlier period of her child's life. What science already knows (and it is little

indeed compared to what remains to be known) must be imparted to the mother. The fallacious impression is still widespread that in good health the body can take care of itself. Millions of pregnant women who have not been definitely ill have endured hours of sickness and vomiting, which they were informed was a normal feature of their condition. Experiment has shown, however, that sickness during pregnancy may be due to lack of easily assimilated carbohydrates and can in some cases be relieved by the ingestion of large amounts of sugar with or without insulin. While the tubercle bacillus has not yet been overcome, infantile tuberculosis could be almost completely stamped out if the community insisted only on using produce from tubercle-free cows for its infants and young children, and also took care that butter and cream were as carefully controlled as milk. In these respects America is greatly ahead of Europe, and England or France. Evidence with regard to diet is rapidly accumulating, though as far as stimulants are concerned, it is almost non-existent. In spite of the propagandists, almost nothing definite is actually known with regard to the comparative effects on men and women of alcohol and tobacco. The few experiments made on female animals, such as rats, rabbits, or guinea-pigs, with these substances, show that they have a beneficial effect on some animals and a harmful one on others, which, for practical human purposes, teaches us nothing. Excessive indulgence may be hurtful; but in the case of a human being it is at present impossible to state quantitatively in accurate terms how much alcohol or tobacco constitutes excess.

There seems to be no definite evidence with regard to the effects of sexual intercourse during pregnancy and suckling. We know that almost all save Christian peoples forbade intercourse for a longer or shorter time after childbirth. No example can perhaps better illustrate the pathetic ignorance of the uninstructed present-day mother than the case, constantly repeating itself, of the woman who allows her husband to resume intercourse while she is suckling, under the impression that she will be unable to conceive while she feeds her baby. Medical experts differ as to the period which should elapse between births, but opinion is pretty well agreed that in normal cases it should not be less than eighteen months to two years, while in exceptional ones a great deal more time should be allowed.

Occupation and recreation during pregnancy are matters which cannot be settled by experiment on animals (nor unfortunately on human beings). As matters now stand, non-maternal work forms, in the ordinary way, nine-tenths of the mother's duties. 'Mother's work is never done' is a sort of sad slogan of working women. Quite obviously, a great deal of the home work is at present, if not badly, at least inefficiently and unmethodically carried out, and some of it is bound to be unnecessary. Here again, direct training of daughter by mother is no longer as carefully given as in earlier times. But we are ceasing to over-estimate the value of all training, however practical and however competent the amateur teacher, which is not based on reasoned principle. Biochemical research can be said to have many analogies with cooking. When cooking is practised as a culinary

art, it can be given almost as much care, in such simple details as weighing and measuring, as scientific research. But few housewives could lay claim to being culinary artists. What they lack are time, teaching, and a professional attitude. The same can be said of almost all other duties. And always they run concurrently with definite maternal occupations.

It is a most curious fact that holidays for mothers, even in the comparatively wealthy classes, are extraordinarily rare. It seems to be assumed that the 'good' mother has no desire, even had she the need, for a short separation from her family. When illness makes such a separation imperative it is often impossible, owing to the disorganization her absence from the home would cause, and the difficulty of finding a substitute. But as far as the apparent unwillingness for a holiday is concerned, we are on more delicate ground. Psychology has taught us something of the force of traditions that can no longer claim to keep pace with changing environments, and of the repressions which result when the desires of individuals appear to conflict with that which tradition sanctions. The vocational mother would be the last feminine type to admit either to herself or any one else, that she sometimes ardently desires a short separation from her family. Yet such a wish would be no less normal, no less blameless, than the desire of any working man or woman for a rest from their daily occupation, no matter how attached to it they might be. In part, of course, a holiday is dreaded by those who have never been taught or have not learnt for themselves how to employ a few days of leisure.

When we come to the psychological relationships

either existing or to be desired between mothers and young children, we find ourselves confronted with a most delicate problem. There is little doubt of the necessity for a close and friendly relation. The desirable mean between too great affection and coldness on the part of mothers or children would depend, if it could be ascertained, so greatly on personality, that it would be almost impossible to fix. Obviously, however, the trained mother would—as self-trained mothers already do—give careful and continuous consideration to this vital problem. To arrive at a just estimate would demand considerable self-knowledge and the ability to contemplate critically the whole wide field of human relationships. Such insight is not a matter of social or of economic standing, but of intelligence and will-power. A preliminary to the attainment of any satisfactory results in this matter would be the instruction of the potential or the young mother in some elementary psychology.

I have in this chapter tried to indicate some of the problems which could be advantageously considered by those nations who have begun or will in due course begin to subsidize motherhood. It is clear that far more questions have been raised than can possibly be answered at this stage of knowledge. No satisfactory replies to the majority of them could be given except by scientific research workers and observers, and by them only after the collection of incontrovertible evidence, some of it biological, some statistical. All discussion of such matters must at present remain purely theoretical, and if I have succeeded in making out a case, it can only be one for investigation. I do not

think that admitted fact detracts greatly from its value. It is precisely the lack of specific ventilation of the problems of motherhood which makes any attempt to solve them so extraordinarily difficult. Birth control, now put forward as the cure-all, is an example of the dangers involved in hasty judgments formed after the most cursory survey of the ills of adjustment to be remedied. Often its advocates seem to have formed no reasonable judgment at all, but to be merely relieving by this demand emotions outraged by personal or general suffering. The same applies to eugenics.

If I have done no more than point out the tremendous complexities involved in the situation, I shall feel this essay to have been of some use.

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CONCLUSION

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Although it has been necessary for me to limit myself in this study to problems and points of view which most closely concern women, I hope it will have become clear that the issues raised are of importance for each individual of whichever sex, as well as for the whole community. The economic aspects, for example, can obviously never be treated, if practical solutions are desired, apart from the economic interests of the whole social body. In this case there is a certain amount of choice for those responsible for racial welfare; the question is mainly one of order in time. Should mothers and children be considered before other members of the community or after? Should governments first of all allocate large sums, say, for maternal and infant welfare or for educational research, before determining their military or industrial expenditure?

Physiological and psychological problems, of which a few have been shortly examined or merely indicated, fall into another class. Here only specialized knowledge and specialized investigation can be of use. But the incentive to make use of scientific method on a really large scale must again come from the community, which alone can provide the money and the organization to make it possible. It seems to me most urgent

that such knowledge as is won, as, for example, methods for preventing or treating venereal disease, or measures to be taken to ensure healthy pregnancy and easy delivery, should be available on the easiest terms to mothers, either directly or indirectly. Very often a mother herself may know what should be done, but is impotent to obtain the required treatment. For instance, a woman scientist recently went to a nursing-home to be delivered of her first child. Labour was long and difficult, but no injections of pituitrin were given to speed it up. The doctor had ordered morphia as a sedative, but not until labour had lasted for over forty hours did the nurse administer it, and by the time the doctor was summoned, the mother was completely exhausted and the child was almost born. This mother knew perfectly well what should have been done, and would doubtless have acted more wisely had she dispensed with the aid of a 'trained' nurse altogether, and obtained the assistance of her husband (a biologist) or an intelligent relative. The tendency to sadism in spinster maternity nurses is again and again responsible for unnecessary pain suffered by their patients during labour; in addition their timidity and ignorance cause further misery when they are compelled to administer drugs. Research is a matter of years; application of its results one of immediate organization or administration so arranged as to facilitate the employment of the most suitable persons obtainable. This again links up with economics, for expert workers require better wages than those at present paid to nurses, which in many cases compare unfavourably with the salaries of trained servants.

The future of the race concerns its males as closely as its females. The masculine motif has hitherto been dominant in public and political life, which in turn has not yet been freed from the powerful influence of the Churches. So long as this influence endures in politics, the 'curse of Eve' will not be lifted from mothers. But at the best legislation can never be fully just to those whose problems it either ignores or overlooks. The establishment of 'Summer Time' in England, for example, has been of great benefit to office workers and others to whom it has given an extra hour's enjoyment of fresh air and sunshine. To mothers and young children it has been far more beneficial. The children cannot be got to bed or to sleep until dusk; they become fretful and irritable from the long hours spent out of doors; the mother's period of relaxation is shortened, although it is far too short already. But such considerations did not weigh when the Bill was passed by Parliament.

If I were a would-be reformer, I would throw myself with ardour into the task of fighting politically for mothers. A practical programme could already be drawn up; measures could to-day be passed which would raise the economic and social status of motherhood, and make millions of men and women happier and more comfortable. But except in the rarest instances, history teaches that you cannot do things for other people. The young and eager, sometimes the old and weary, fight against the unpleasant truth that humanity as a whole hates to be improved. Unfortunately the average man has attained a little common sense; too much to enable the exceptional man to help

him. Most human beings are entirely devoid of ambition; they are pleased to remain in the stations to which God called them; they are terrified of being lifted out of them. Lavatory attendants, sewage workers, warders in lunatic asylums, the ciphers who wait on great machines, those who sit on high stools for twenty-five or fifty-five years, are generally quite happy. The worker in the tannery soon gets used to the bad smells. 'Mr. Zero,' human adding machine for the whole of his earthly existence, kills the boss in a moment of madness caused by his sudden dismissal; he is translated to the Elysian Fields, in which for obvious reasons he cannot be married to the girl he loved on earth. This Paradise is tenanted by disreputable and bawdy parsons such as the late Dean Swift and the *feu* François Rabelais, vicar of Meudon; by drunks and 'bums' and prostitutes, who presumably also got there as a reward for one act of self-assertion in life. Mr. Zero will have none of this sinners' heaven.[1]

The average woman has as little use for reform as the average man. To accept help from others implies inferiority to them. If you ask why, then, reforms do come about at all, the answer is simple. A few people do the thinking of the race for it, and most of their thought—the pure thought of humanity—is useless on the practical scale. Such individual thought as has practical consequences usually brings them home rapidly enough to the thinkers. Once they died on crosses, at stakes, or rotted in ditches. But humanity is beginning to outgrow such measures, simply because it is slowly learning that the capacity for suffering pain

is universal. During the great plagues of Europe[2] the ignorant and impotent sufferers martyred the Jews. Princes of the world and of the Church protested in vain; reason told them that such measures were useless, though they might bring some pleasure to the plague-stricken torturers. No one would now think of killing a Jew to stop an epidemic; science has seen to that. But Jews and others will still continue to be killed in the stupider parts of the world, or to be socially or economically outlawed, whenever humanity's misery brims over. In the meantime the situation goes on developing; at a certain point it is clear, even to the average individual, that something must be done about it—then something is done. For the marvellous point about *homo sapiens* is not that he is so stupid, but that even to his stupidity there is a limit.

Bubonic plague was quite common in Europe in the eighteenth century; it is common enough in Asia in the twentieth. But when the worst is said that can be said, it is clear that as we slowly emancipate ourselves from the theological view that nothing we can attain on this earth can profit us, we shall begin to do ourselves justice. We shall still continue to prize our minds or even 'souls'—whatever they may be—but we shall realize more fully their physiological dependence on the body and the need for bodily health and strength as a preliminary to mental development. The relationship of the individual to the community is a sum in simple arithmetic; his duties to himself are mainly positive, to others negative. To have enough to eat and drink and to have leisure; not to prevent others from enjoying what one knows to be indispens-

able or even unnecessary to oneself; to achieve self-respect before demanding or giving respect elsewhere; these are some quite simple preliminaries to the framing of the new Commandments which may hope to have as important a bearing on individual and racial preservation as those of Moses.

In due course the majority will no doubt reach a point of development attained by a few rationalists to-day. They will arrange their lives so as to exercise all their faculties harmoniously; they will then have enthusiasm to spare for the only life after death certain to be achieved by human beings—the continuation of their seed, their contribution to posterity. The age of the child is approaching. The worship of the Madonna and of the Infant Jesus will cease; it will be replaced by a recognition of the mother's primary importance in the social hierarchy and of the child's importance to the individual parent and of his conditional value to the community. Already I know of two cases of parents who have started schools because they wished to control the education of their own children. They have placed their money and their ideas at the service of these and other children; have set out, prepared not only to brave the competition of the professional schoolmaster, but to go to school themselves, testing the available psychological knowledge by application to practical problems; teachers willing to subdue their adult intelligence, to control that dangerous guide 'experience,' and ready to face the world again from the point of view of infancy. 'And a little child shall lead them.'[3] Such experiments are still exceptional, but there are a sufficient number of desperate parents

in existence who welcome them joyfully, because they realize the urgent necessity for a new approach to educational problems; for the experimental point of view.

Such matters as these are the concern of all men as well as of all women. Only a few will be able to deal with them creatively, but in order that experiment should not be wild and uncontrolled, it is necessary to have a public opinion formed by a benevolently critical minority. Such a minority must keep a sharp look-out for the results of scientific research, and must become acquainted with them; it must endeavour in speech and action to obtain full publicity and immediate application for such as may be of value. An intellectual guardianship of this kind will, in my opinion, be of far greater ultimate use to the race than active participation in half-baked eugenical schemes for which neither circumstances nor individuals are as yet prepared. To this minority, to the guardians of the future, creators of a republic neither they nor I will see in action, I address this entirely inadequate and provisional book.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

While the views expressed in this book have no literary or scientific sponsor, I wish to thank my husband for reading the proofs and supplying certain valuable references.

THE END

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